

ROYAL  
COLONIAL INSTITUTE



REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS









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OF THE  
ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE

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OF THE  
ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE







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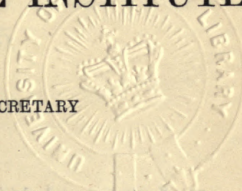
Royal Empire Society

# PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

## ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE

EDITED BY THE SECRETARY



VOLUME XXVI.

1894-95

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J. S. O'HALLORAN,

*Secretary.*

ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE,  
Northumberland Avenue,  
July 16, 1895

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# THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE,

## NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, LONDON, W.C.

FOUNDED 1868.  
INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER 1882.

MOTTO—"UNITED EMPIRE."

### Objects.

To provide a place of meeting for all gentlemen connected with the Colonies and British India, and others taking an interest in Colonial and Indian affairs; to establish a Reading Room and Library, in which recent and authentic intelligence upon Colonial and Indian subjects may be constantly available, and a Museum for the collection and exhibition of Colonial and Indian productions; to facilitate interchange of experiences amongst persons representing all the Dependencies of Great Britain; to afford opportunities for the reading of Papers, and for holding Discussions upon Colonial and Indian subjects generally; and to undertake scientific, literary, and statistical investigations in connection with the British Empire. But no Paper shall be read, or any Discussion be permitted to take place, tending to give to the Institute a party character.—(Rule I.)

### Membership.

There are two classes of Fellows (who must be British subjects), Resident and Non-Resident, both elected by the Council on the nomination of Two Fellows, one of whom at least must sign on personal knowledge. The former pay an entrance fee of £3, and an annual subscription of £2; the latter an entrance fee of £1. 1s. (which is increased to £3 when taking up permanent residence in the United Kingdom), and an annual subscription of £1. 1s. (which is increased to £2 when in the United Kingdom for more than three months). Resident Fellows can compound for the annual subscription by the payment of £20, or after five years' annual subscriptions of two pounds on payment of £15; and Non-Resident Fellows can compound for the *Non-Resident* annual subscription on payment of £10.

*Privileges of Fellows whose Subscriptions are not in Arrear.*

The privileges of Fellows, whose subscriptions are not in arrear, include the use of the Institute building, which comprises Reading, Writing, and Smoking Rooms, Library, Newspaper Room, &c. The Journal and the Annual Volume of Proceedings are forwarded to all Fellows, whether residing in England or the Colonies.

To be present at the Ordinary Meetings, and to introduce one visitor.

To be present at the Annual *Conversazione*, and to introduce a lady.

The support of all British Subjects, whether residing in the United Kingdom or the Colonies—for the Institute is intended for both—is earnestly desired in promoting the great objects of extending knowledge respecting the various portions of the Empire, and in promoting the cause of its permanent unity.

Contributions to the Library will be thankfully received.

J. S. O'HALLORAN,  
*Secretary*



## FORM OF CANDIDATE'S CERTIFICATE.

### CERTIFICATE OF CANDIDATE FOR ELECTION.

Name

Title

Residence

a British subject, being desirous of admission into the Royal COLONIAL INSTITUTE, we, the undersigned, recommend him as eligible for Membership.

Dated this

day of

18

} from personal knowledge.

Proposed

18

Elected

18

## FORM OF BEQUEST.

I bequeath the sum of £                      to the ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE, Incorporated by Royal Charter 1882, and I declare that the receipt of the Treasurer for the time being of the said Corporation shall be an effectual discharge for the said Bequest, which I direct to be paid within                      calendar months after my decease, without any reduction whatsoever, whether on account of Legacy Duty thereon or otherwise, out of such part of my estate as may be lawfully applied for that purpose.

*Those persons who feel disposed to benefit the Royal Colonial Institute by Legacies are recommended to adopt the above Form of Bequest.*

# ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

SESSION 1894-95.

## FIRST ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE First Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole on Tuesday, November 13, 1894, when Miss Flora L. Shaw read a paper on "Colonial Expansion."

The Right Hon. Lord Brassey, K.C.B., a Vice-President of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 94 Fellows had been elected, viz., 23 Resident and 71 Non-Resident.

### Resident Fellows :—

*Donald Andrew, John Barclay, Albert P. Baker, August Borsdorf, Ashworth P. Burke, A. Tudor Craig, D. R. Dangar, John Percy Evill, Hon. Duncan Gillies (Agent-General for Victoria), George Taylor Hayzen, Alan Jeffray, Godfrey B. Johnson, Alexander Johnston, M.D., M.R.C.S., Charles W. King, John A. Maurice, Harold Neill, Alfred J. Pease, J.P., Hon. Thomas Playford, (Agent-General for South Australia), G. Q. Roberts, M.A., Dawson A. Vindin, James Wigan, J.P., E. Burney Young.*

### Non-Resident Fellows :—

*Richard P. Adams (Queensland), James Anderson, J.P. (Ceylon), His Honour Chief Justice W. J. Anderson (British Honduras), Barnett J. Barnato, M.L.A. (Cape Colony), Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Bloemfontein, D.D., John R. Bovell (Barbados), Donald A. Cameron (Egypt), Robert Codrington (British Bechuanaland), Wm. O'Connor Cole (Sierra Leone), Thomas Davidson (Canada), Charles Allen Wm. Davies (India), George P. Doolette, J.P. (South Australia), Hon. James Driver, M.L.C. (Seychelles), N. J. Ede (Hong Kong), John Wm. Elliot (St. Lucia), C. Tatham Elmslie (Queensland), Frank Emley (Transvaal), Colonel Albrecht Feez (Queensland), Charles Gibbon (Ceylon), Charles M. Gifford (Jamaica), Henry Grant Dalton (Cape Colony), E. A. H. Haggart (Jamaica), H. de Courcy Hamilton, M.L.C. (Montserrat), Ung Bok Hoey (Straits Settlements), Charles E. Hogg (Victoria), Harold Holton (British Columbia), Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Honduras, D.D., John Wm. Howard (Matabeleland), Arthur N. Hughes (South Australia), Cecil W. Hunter (South Australia), John Knox Hutton (Lagos), Most Rev. the Lord Bishop of Jamaica, D.D., H. W. Johnston (Nova*



*Scotia*), James Keenan, *F.R.C.S.I.* (*Transvaal*), Hon. J. J. Keswick, *M.L.C.* (*Hong Kong*), John Pexall Wm. Kidson (*Seychelles*), John H. Kitchen (*Victoria*), Captain Frederick L. Langdale (*Fiji*), Hon. G. Ruthven Le Hunte (*Colonial Secretary Barbados*), Murdoch MacLeod (*Victoria*), Frederick D. McMillan (*Transvaal*), Percy J. Marks, *B.A.* (*New South Wales*), Horace T. Martin (*Canada*), Horatio E. Maunsell, *M.B.* (*Jamaica*), R. Thelwall Maurice (*South Australia*), Frederick Mead (*Natal*), John A. Murdoch (*British Guiana*), Jethalal M. Parikh (*India*), Walter C. Powell (*Victoria*), Wm. T. Prout, *M.B., C.M.* (*Colonial Surgeon Sierra Leone*), Vincent A. Pyke (*New Zealand*), His Honour Chief Justice Sir Wm. Conrad Reeves (*Barbados*), John Rixon (*Queensland*), Charles S. Roberts (*Queensland*), Colonel Sir Francis C. Scott, *K.C.M.G., C.B.* (*Gold Coast Colony*), John T. Small (*Canada*), Charles H. Smith (*Bahamas*), R. Gemmell Smith (*Fiji*), Joseph H. Stanley (*New Zealand*), Arthur M. A. Struben (*Cape Colony*), Most Rev. the Lord Bishop of Sydney, *D.D.*, Richard R. Terry, *J.P.* (*New South Wales*), M. Charles Thomson (*Queensland*), Jonathan O. Turner (*Sierra Leone*), E. Clement Wallace (*Transvaal*), Rev. Wm. B. Wallace (*Cape Colony*), J. Lawson Welch, *M.A.M.B.* (*Straits Settlements*), Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Wellington, *D.D.*, Hon. T. H. Whitehead, *M.L.C.* (*Hong Kong*), Albert J. Wilson (*Mauritius*), Wm. Alexander Wilson (*Seychelles*).

It was also announced that donations to the Library of books, maps, &c., had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies, and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN: I have, as Chairman, the privilege of making an important announcement, an announcement which I am sure will be received with universal satisfaction. It is that His Royal Highness the Duke of York has done us the honour of associating himself with this Society as one of its Fellows, and he has, moreover, been pleased to allow himself to become one of our Vice-Presidents. In giving us this mark of recognition, His Royal Highness is only offering a fresh proof of his interest in everything concerning the welfare of the Colonies. As you are aware, in the course of his services as an Officer of the Navy, His Royal Highness has necessarily been brought into contact with our Colonial fellow-subjects, for he has visited many of our Colonies, and, therefore, in showing his interest in our Colonial relations, he is acting as one who has due knowledge of all that is implied. This Meeting is the auspicious opening of a new Session, and I am sure you will be glad to know that the Institute continues to enjoy uninterrupted prosperity. I think we may, with reason, claim that it fulfils, and fulfils thoroughly, its objects, and performs a very important public service. It is, I think, proper on this occasion that I should refer to the loss the Institute has recently sustained in the death of its first President, the Earl of Albemarle. The late Earl did not claim to be its originator; that distinguished honour he always

assigned, as I believe, justly, to Mr. A. R. Roche, its first Honorary Secretary; but it was mainly through the influence and exertions of the noble Earl that the Institute assumed its present shape, and that its effective practical working has been so satisfactorily established. Lord Albemarle delivered his inaugural address in 1868, and, as he truly said, the one great object of the Society, the object to which every other must be subservient, is the diffusion of accurate information upon Colonial subjects. As a means to that end we employ such Meetings as the present; we have, moreover, an admirable Library, and we have a highly efficient Intelligence Department. Our proceedings are, as you know, chronicled in a publication which has a world-wide circulation. I am sure you will all agree with me that our special thanks are due this evening to the gifted lady, Miss Shaw, who has kindly consented to address us. She has important and responsible duties to perform elsewhere in the interests of the Colonies, yet this is not the first occasion on which she has devoted part of her valuable time to the good cause which we in this Institute have at heart. I will only add that I have the greatest pleasure in being present on this occasion. I am devoted heart and soul to the great cause of Imperial Unity. Being convinced as I am that the moment has not yet arrived for any great, any grave constitutional changes in the relations between the Colonies and the Mother Country, believing that the time has not arrived when it is necessary to make calls upon the Colonies for pecuniary contributions to Imperial Defence, except in the form of maintaining their local self-defence, and believing, therefore, that the time has not arrived when it is necessary to raise the question of representation upon that great Imperial Council, which I look upon as one of the things of the future, if not of the present; believing all this, I attach the more importance to all practical available means for bringing the Mother Country and the Colonies together. The papers which are read to you from time to time are a means of diffusing most valuable information, and of stirring up in the Mother Country an interest in the Colonies, while evoking in the Colonies a feeling of interest in the Mother Country. I have now great pleasure in calling upon Miss Shaw to read her paper on

### COLONIAL EXPANSION.

THE Royal Colonial Institute is in the habit of opening its session in November, and the month seems to me of happy augury for the yearly renewal of labours so intimately connected with the

rise of our Colonial Empire. In this month, a little more than three hundred years ago, the reigning sovereign Queen Elizabeth attended a solemn thanksgiving offered by the nation for an event which definitely determined the place of Great Britain in modern history. The defeat of the Spanish Armada had given us the command of the seas.

From that day the law of our national life has been expansion. We have needed a Nelson to maintain the naval supremacy which Drake and Hawkins won, but with the occasion came the man. Our navy has remained supreme, and behind its armoured bulwarks the little English island of Queen Elizabeth has expanded into the Empire of Queen Victoria. Instincts of liberty, adventure, and organisation, for which the unimpeded exercise was secured upon the seas, have found room in the spaces of two worlds to grow, and the Colonial expansion upon which I have been invited to read a Paper before you to-night is simply the continuation by the British Colonies of the main theme of British history.

Before I venture to indicate what appear to me to be the most pronounced lines of its development, I will ask you to pass rapidly in review some of the principal characteristics of the British Colonies. The main division in a constitutional sense, as we all know, is into three classes. We have self-governing Colonies; we have Colonies which possess representative institutions, but have not yet the full dignity of responsible government; and we have Crown Colonies pure and simple. To these three categories must be added the almost infinitely varied experiments in administration which, under the names of Protectorates and Dependencies, Chartered Companies and Spheres of Influence, may be generally classed as forms more or less embryonic of the still advancing process of expansion. There are none of these new developments in government which do not look either to India or to one of the classes of Colonies which have been enumerated as representing the system in which they will ultimately take rank.

Among the alternatives that are open to them there are possibilities of change from one system to the other. We find, as in the instance of Singapore, portions of the Indian system which have preferred to leave it and become Colonies under the direct administration of the Crown, with the apparent hope of rising as wealth and importance increase to the possession of representative, perhaps even of responsible, institutions. We find, as in some of the West Indian Islands, instances in which Colonies already possessed of representative institutions have preferred to surrender them and

return to the condition of Crown Colonies. Again, as in the late instances of Western Australia and Natal, we have had examples of Colonies outgrowing what they felt to be the restrictions of representative institutions, and asking for and obtaining the relative independence of responsible self-government. In Northern Queensland we have still—though for the moment the agitation has apparently lost strength—a smouldering demand for repartition, and the creation of an entirely new self-governing Colony. This flux and reflux must be taken as evidence of the vitality which animates the constitution of the Empire. It bears witness also to the large measure of liberty in which with such a system young communities may be safely left to grow. There is not a Colony, however obscure, beneath the British flag which may not feel that it can ask for and eventually obtain the fullest measure of freedom that it can show itself prepared to use. What is true of the smallest is no less true of the greatest, and the growth of the self-governing Colonies is a perpetual enlargement of what were once thought to be the final possibilities in this direction.

This form of moral expansion, which is of course an expansion no less of the whole Empire than of its parts, is an essential accompaniment of the physical expansion which is taking place. Under less elastic institutions there would be no room for growth, and where we get now healthy extension we should with more rigid bonds have to choose between deformity or rupture.

Rupture we have had, alas ! once too often in our history. Looking backward, we can think only with sorrow of what the British Empire might have been if the United States had been allowed to grow beneath the flag. But the lessons of a century are not all vain. Two of the groups of our self-governing Colonies count now each within their borders a population rather greater than was the population of America when it separated itself from us. If within the century that is to come each of these groups should grow as the United States have grown, and the Empire of our great-grandchildren should include the equivalent of two Americas, without taking count of Africa and India, our descendants will have sufficient reason to be proud, and the statesmen of that day will have need to take ever-widening views of the powers and destinies of nations.

In the congeries of our Colonies and Dependencies it is to the three great self-governing groups that we must look for indications of the direction in which the forward movements that govern the future will be taken. These groups differ widely in the conditions under which their growth must be carried on, Two form portions



of great continents, and must be necessarily affected by the currents of foreign and continental life that flow beside them. One, like Great Britain on a larger scale, is composed of a group of independent islands. Two, again, but not the same two, are situated in the southern hemisphere, with milder skies and softer seas than ours, reversing in their climatic conditions our notions of north and south, enjoying their harvests in our seed-time, and sending us in midwinter their summer fruit. Canada and Australia, which are alike in one fact, that both are practically peopled with white races, are at the very antipodes, not only of the world, but of each other in their remaining features.

Each Colonial group, unlike as it is to the other, contains within its own frontiers elements of the sharpest contrast. Canada, of which we are disposed to think as of a country of snow and furs, with pine forests stretching in practically limitless extent towards the ice-bound coasts of northern seas, has its prairies, pink in their season with flowering wild rose, its plains green with sprouting corn, or golden with the heavy wheat harvests of Manitoba. The lake shores of Ontario are a garden which Kent and Devonshire can do no more than match; and even in midwinter, when the eastern provinces are white, and the trains of the Canadian Pacific Railway after crossing the frozen prairies are liable to be stopped by snow slides in the triple ranges of the Rockies, the Selkirk and the Golden Mountains, there is still beyond the mountains in the mild climate of British Columbia a lovely district, resembling for charm and picturesqueness some of the most favoured spots in Southern Europe, where roses bloom in the open air, and balmy Chinook winds blowing up from the blue waters of the Pacific swell the buds on fruit trees which are ready to break into blossom in the first days of an early spring.

Here on the still shores of Puget Sound, amid scenery that would not shame the Mediterranean, an industrious population work and live. Here the rivers swarm with fish. Here in the Frazer valley, and in the Kootenay and Nanaimo districts, gold and silver and coal abound. It is from this coast that the Canadian sealers put out for Behring Sea. Here the harbour of Esquimault is fortified as an Imperial naval station, and here, where less than ten years ago primeval forest dipped into the water's edge, Vancouver throbs already to the awakening life of the Northern Pacific.

The winters of British Columbia are brief and bright, as the winters of the Riviera. The latitude of the more closely inhabited

districts is the latitude of Torquay, and nothing recalls the northern conception usually cherished in association with it, but the magnificent presence of glacier-bearing peaks, which, distant as they really are, seem to rise abruptly from gardens at their feet, and carry the eye in heights unapproached by our noblest Alps to regions of eternal snow.

Behind them northwards lies still all the mystery of the unknown. They live in the imagination as the pillars of the sea-gate of the Dominion on an ocean which promises to be the next field of a developing civilisation. The Canadian instinct of expansion has connected this coast already with the more thickly populated producing centres of the eastern provinces. The iron high road of the Canadian Pacific Railway runs parallel with the American land frontier, and so close to it that the two together may be almost said to form the southern boundary of Canada. Of the wealth which remains to be developed between it and the far distant edge of Arctic icefields in the north, but the haziest ideas have as yet been formed. We know something of the forest riches of the districts surrounding Hudson's Bay. We have heard of a petroleum area so extensive as to justify the belief that it will eventually supply the larger part of the American continent. The pitch lakes of Athabasca are said to count among the unrecognised wonders of the world. The value of the furs yearly collected and exported by the Hudson's Bay Company is great. Beyond all this we know that there are large deposits of gold, silver, iron, graphite, salt, and other valuable minerals. The experience which has been gained in Russian Siberia in the corresponding areas of another continent gives some conception of the agricultural fertility of northern soils. But all as yet is dim, uncertain, half explored. Inquiry has to rest content with the assurance that throughout the vastness of a territory where the mammoth and the mastodon have ranged, and where the now degenerate Red Indian hunts, treasures roughly catalogued lie stored, waiting for the use to which coming generations may be pleased to put them.

The climate of Canada supplies the means of vanquishing itself, and a magnificent lake and river system, due presumably to the summer melting of extended fields of snow, affords a natural means of entering what, without the waterways, might long have been regarded as the impenetrable wastes of the higher latitudes. No other group of British Colonies can boast as she does over 2,000 miles of uninterrupted water transit from one ocean, and perhaps as much again penetrating to the heart of the North-West Terri-

tories from another. The value of this easy means of freight-bearing communication to the eventual development of her commerce does not need to be insisted on.

The Atlantic ports, through which the tide of European civilisation first rose over her solitudes, give her nearer touch than that possessed by either Australia or South Africa with the more concentrated markets of the world. Her long land frontier with America might, if fiscal differences were satisfactorily disposed of, fairly be regarded as a frontier of market ports. This happy consummation may be remote. In the meantime she possesses without question a position of central importance in the British Empire. The Atlantic Ocean gives her natural communication with the United Kingdom and South Africa; the Pacific offers her equally easy communication with India and Australia and the East. She commands the commercial high road of two hemispheres. What is more, she has perceived the value of the position, and she has secured herself in the possession of it.

Her strip of cultivation is but as yet a narrow band drawn by indomitable pluck from her Atlantic to her Pacific gate. Seeing what has been done, and remembering the difficulties which were opposed to that connection, it is hardly, I think, an excessive act of faith to believe that under the guidance of the same hardy and stubborn race the narrow band will in the future spread until the broad area of Canadian settlement reaches northward to the limit which nature has set for the higher forms of human occupation.

While Canada thus sits astride the Empire at the head of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, Africa, at the south end of the one, and Australia, at the south end of the other, offer conditions no less diverse from her than from each other. If Canada is the typical Colony of a northern race, where winter finds its intense expression, and the qualities of the Vikings who fathered us may well renew themselves in circumstances so fitted to their strain, Australia surely is the land of summer.

The snow of the Canadian prairie gives place to sun-baked pasture on her plains. The gloom of the northern forest is unknown. In the place of furs and pitch and mineral oil, the natural harvests of Australia yield fruit and wine and spice. For the Arctic regions of the one Colony we get the tropics of the other, and the contrast between the two Colonies is complete when in the dry air of the interior of Australia we find the bracing cold of Canada replaced by what doctors call "tonic heat." It is possible with a temperature of  $110^{\circ}$  in the shade to do with comparative ease in

those parts of Australia such a day's work as few men could do in England. The shearing industry is carried on chiefly in the bush, where in Queensland the summer temperature rises to 125°; yet the average daily tally of a good Australian shearer, shearing for eight hours a day, is 100 sheep. And in the shearing season of 1892-93 it happened to come within my personal knowledge that John Howe, the champion shearer of the Barcoo, shored 321 by hand in one eight hours' day.<sup>1</sup> It sounds incredible, but the betting on his score was high, and he was so closely watched that there was no practical possibility of mistake. Nevertheless, the ease of life in Australia is typified by the fact that the food of the average workman there costs just half what the same food would cost in Canada, and the chief fear for the Australian race, living, as the greater part of it does at present, upon the coast, appears to be that it should yield to the seductive charm of a climate and soil in which Nature needs no compulsion, and so lose in the course of succeeding generations something of the energy of the British stock. New Zealand, 1,200 miles nearer to Antarctic ice, with a climate which only reproduces in an amended form the climate of the United Kingdom, is not open to the same apprehension. The difference between the physique of the New Zealander and the Australian is already marked, and it may safely be left to the New Zealander to perpetuate in the

<sup>1</sup> As this statement of John Howe's shearing feats has aroused some not unnatural comments, I take the opportunity offered to me to add in a footnote the account which I obtained on the spot, while in Queensland, of the full score made by him in nine days' shearing at Alice Downs in September and October of 1892. The sheep were shorn with one pair of Bell and Burgons' shears, and the tallies were as follow:—September 30, 264; October 1 (half-day), 131; October 3 to October 8, 249, 257, 258, 262, 267, 144 (half-day), October 10, 321, October 11 (when the shed cut out), 228. Total, 2,381 sheep for nine days. I should add that I did not see this shearing done, but some of the leading pastoralists of the Barcoo with whom I stayed were, after inquiry, convinced that the score was accurate. It is the highest score that has ever been known to have been obtained, and it is open to question whether the sheep were thoroughly well shorn. The score of October 10 means shearing at the rate of one minute and a half per sheep for the whole eight hours. In the shearing shed at Listowel a fortnight later I found the men's tallies running to 155 and 165 per day, and, on timing the champion shearer of that shed, I found that he could shear for a limited period at the rate of two minutes per sheep. He said that he could shear quicker, but that it made him nervous to have us standing round with our watches open. The temperature that day was 105° in the shade. The average for the season in this shed was 112 a day per man, taking good shearers with bad. The average for the same season at Northampton Downs was 117 a day per man. These were good sheds, but the shearing average which I have given as 100 is not above the mark,



Antipodes the race from which he sprang in the Northern hemisphere.

This fact may be counted as one of the important features in the future of Australasia. But another characteristic to be taken note of is that in Australasia the European population is almost wholly British. There is a sprinkling, and a valuable sprinkling, of German stock, but there is no second race to correspond to the French Canadian, with a different language, a different religion, and differing social traditions. The great feature of Australasia is its wealth. I have had occasion already in this place to speak of the natural sources from which this wealth is derived, and I will not dwell further upon them now than to remind you that the value of the gold raised in the Australasian Colonies since the first discovery there in 1851 of the precious metal has been in round figures £350,000,000; that the yearly wool clip is valued at £25,000,000; that the fruit crop alone was in 1891 worth £3,000,000; that honey, poultry, and eggs yielded another £3,000,000; while the dairies, principally of New South Wales, Victoria, and New Zealand, gave £7,000,000 worth of produce. The total value of the agricultural crops in 1891 was over £22,000,000. These and other figures, of which I might multiply examples, convey little meaning unless the numbers of the population are also borne in mind; but when it is remembered that the entire population does not reach 4,000,000, and that the total export and import trade for 1891 attained the value of £144,000,000, the conclusion is, I think, fairly to be borne out, that while the characteristic of the continent is wealth, the characteristic of its people is industrial and commercial activity. If the people of Canada have inherited the roving spirit with the conquering blood of Scandinavian ancestors, the people of Australia are no less distinctly heirs of the business faculty and practical traditions of the great liberal majority of the British people.

With such a trading centre at one end of the Pacific and the Canadian passion for extension at the other, with the differing seasons of the southern and the northern hemispheres to take into account, midsummer with all its harvests in the one corresponding to the coldest and shortest days of midwinter in the other, with the natural diversity of their products and the practical demand at both ends for new markets, the evolution of their mutual history is not difficult, in one respect at least, to forecast. They must evidently sooner or later throw out lines of communication with each other.

On that side of the world Canada and Australia represent each in their place the extreme edges of the Empire, and they are separated by only about 6,000 miles of sea. On this side the distance between them is three times as great, but on this side there is the magnetic attraction of the Mother Country. There is also the further link of the South African Peninsula.

South Africa, looking westward and northward towards Canada, eastward and southward towards Australia, while across the Indian Ocean the nearest land under the British flag is India, unites in itself something of the characteristics of all three.

Physically it is one vast mountain, with its precipitous side turned towards the Indian Ocean and its slopes and tablelands gradually descending towards the Atlantic. The waste of many centuries has surrounded this mountain with a coast strip of which the amazing richness is not difficult to understand when the soil of the wonderful high-veldt—where the fields as yet are principally fields of gold and silver—is examined. South Africa has the attraction of all things strange. We think of it as the land of the elephant, the lion, and the ostrich, the precious metals, the diamond, and the Kaffir. To Atlantic hardihood this country joins the almost fabulous possibilities of lands washed by southern seas. The climate of its mountainous interior is bracing as the air of Canada, the vegetation of the coast strip which surrounds it matches the fertility of Australia.

The native populations of South Africa cannot, of course, present any true comparison with the native races of India. They do, however, present for the consideration of the governing powers concerned, the problem, which has been perhaps better solved in India than in any country of the known world, of the administration of the affairs of one race by another distinctly superior to it in strength. There are only 600,000 white people altogether in the Colonies and States which lie between the Zambesi and Table Bay, and every South African question has three sides. It must be considered from the British, from the Dutch, and from the native point of view. The autonomy of South Africa is not simple like that of Canada and Australia. The Orange Free State and the South African Republic do not, like the French provinces of Canada, form part of the British Federation. They are foreign States having constitutions and a government of their own, having also their own ambitions and their own profoundly cherished racial sentiments. We have on the same southern portion of the continent spheres of Portuguese and of German influence. There are still independent

native tribes, and within the circle of British jurisdiction we have every form that is known to us of administration. Self-governing Colonies, Crown Colonies, Protectorates, Protected States, and the great Chartered Company which has carried the effective occupation of Great Britain already further north than ten years ago entered into the wildest dreams of the average South African, combine to make up the existing whole. On this complicated chessboard the game has to be played in black and white, and the political interests which arise from this state of things are both active and entrancing. So much has been done, so much still remains to do, that there is room for the full exercise of our traditional capacities. The same spirit which carried Elizabethan adventurers round the world, and later brought into our hands the administration of all the diversified interests of India, has now its field of action in South Africa. We can still watch there the elementary processes of Empire in the making.

If time permitted, we might follow them across the Zambesi, through the provinces of British Central Africa—of which Mr. H. H. Johnston has lately reported so much that is interesting—northwards still to the East African sphere of British influence—and thence to the western province of the Niger, where within the half a million square miles of territory which the Niger Company is successfully administering for Great Britain a thickly-swarming negro population is learning the first lesson of civilisation with the spade. We might pass beyond the coast of Africa to the West Indian Islands, which, with their varying populations, their contrasting constitutions, and not far short of a score of different administrations, lie clustered in the great gulf made by the shores of North and South America, and serve to link one continent with another. I would like to recall to your memory the fortified chain of Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Ceylon, Singapore, Hong Kong, carrying by sea from west to east the connection between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans that Canada completes from east to west by land. But to think of these is still to omit smaller lines of possessions which traverse the Indian and South Atlantic Oceans and Colonies and coaling-stations scattered from the Equator to the Poles.

The possessions of the Empire are too vast to be covered by a passing thought. In the midst of them the three great groups of self-governing Colonies are the centres which naturally arrest attention. Roughly, they may be pictured as forming with the United Kingdom the ribs and centre of a great web thrown out west and east, and north and south, over the globe; and if this figure be accepted,



the Colonial expansion, of which we now see the beginnings, may be likened to the gradual spinning of the lines from rib to rib with which the spider completes her work. In other words, the expansion of Great Britain has made the Empire; it is for expansion of the Colonies to consolidate it.

Within the three groups a double movement of expansion is at present taking place. One movement is internal and concerns themselves; one is external and concerns the Empire. It is a curious coincidence that for the moment the internal expansion of all three is towards the north. Canada has still her great northern territory to fill; Australian development is moving towards the tropics. In South Africa the Cape-to-Cairo ambition has shown itself to be something more than a dream. In each group of Colonies this northward movement has been recognised as demanding for one condition of its successful accomplishment a corresponding movement towards unity at its base. Canada has federated already, and is now free to work on a solid foundation. In Australia federation is the next great movement to be expected. In South Africa the men who are most active in leading the northern advance are also the most ardent advocates of a policy of toleration which has for its object the eventual union of the southern Colonies and States. That some such union on terms acceptable alike to Dutch and British sentiment may be brought about is the cherished hope of liberal South African politicians. The late amicable settlement of the railway difficulty, the prospect of extending the Customs union, and the proposal to revise the convention of 1884, by which British relations with the Transvaal are defined, are all movements to which a few leaders on both sides look hopefully for good results. Without a union which permits of hearty Dutch and British co-operation in the South, it is felt that no enduring northern policy can be successfully carried out, and the game is being played for that or nothing.

Thus, in the first instance, within each group of Colonies the movement of expansion is accompanied almost of necessity by a movement of consolidation.

The external expansion by which the relations of the Empire are affected is of a slightly different kind. I think it will, however, be found to be governed by a law that is identical.

Regarding the Empire for the moment as a unit, the British Islands with their big markets, their long-established manufacturing industries, and their relative density of population, occupy towards the Colonies the place which towns hold towards the country.

Every commodity which the Colonies could produce has come in part to the British Islands to be consumed. There is nothing which we do not make and they do not grow. Their raw material has fed our manufactories. With every extension of our manufacturing industry we offer an extended market for their produce. An increase of our export trade, consisting, as it does, largely of manufactured goods, is an assurance to the Colonies of an extension of their own. Thus our economic movements rise and fall in unison. We are so largely their customers for raw material that, apart from any patriotic sentiment, they must for reasons of self-interest desire to contribute to the fullest possible development of British trade. We on our part must desire to contribute to the fullest possible development of Colonial production; and in fulfilment of this desire we have directed a continuous strain of capital and population, both of which we possess in greater quantities than they, towards the Colonies. There are at present about 12,000,000 British subjects outside the limits of the four seas, and within those limits the available supply is still practically inexhaustible. Of money the amount sent into the Colonies is hardly to be computed; but if the £11,000,000 offered to Canada, when she asked for £2,500,000, the other day, may be taken as an indication, the supply of that also is in no danger of running short.

So far, then, our interests have been identical. There has been a natural and constantly increasing expansion of the commerce of Great Britain towards the Colonies, and a return flow from the Colonies to Great Britain. It is difficult to conceive that this state of things could under any circumstances be permanently interrupted. I am not forgetting that as between town and country there comes a time when the country ceases in some measure to be country, and local aptitudes bring rural towns into existence, so the Colonies will evidently develop industries which are natural to them. Many of them they will conduct under conditions far more advantageous than any which Great Britain can afford. Nor is it necessary that I should allude to the large and flourishing towns which, as a matter of fact, the Colonies' already possess. I am speaking of the eventual development on an infinitely greater scale of their native industrial possibilities. That this development should take place and have for its result the still further expansion rather than the arrest of our existing commercial relations is in accordance with the spirit of our trade. There will always be something for the production of which we shall possess special aptitudes, and the increase of wealth and population in our mutual markets will stimulate the volume of

exchange. This appears to me to be a view which is justified by large conceptions alike of self-interest and of patriotism.

Yet as between town and country, of which the advantage must be manifestly mutual, there have often arisen local differences and temporary jealousies, so between the manufacturing counties of the United Kingdom and the producing markets of the Colonies there have been, and in all human probability there must still linger, certain jealousies, and tendencies to erect obstructions which may at a given moment seem advantageous to a part, even though they be disadvantageous to the whole. Under this head, perhaps, may be included the protective Colonial tariffs, by which the economic circulation of the Empire has been to some extent impeded. Protection against the Mother Country would seem to be the natural accompaniment of a policy of separation. That it is not so in intention must, I think, be conceded when it is remembered that the Conservative policy of Canada, which cannot be accused of indifference to the Union, has always been associated with Protection. Colonial protection against British goods is, I believe, more truly to be considered in the light of an excise tax for revenue purposes, similar to the taxes which have at various times been levied within the United Kingdom itself. The economic faith of this country is that it is a mistake, but the doctrine of the value of the free circulation of commodities is comparatively modern, and is still of course open to debate. Allow me to read to you from the pages of an author familiar to us all a description of the restrictions laid upon the inland commerce in wool in order to prevent exportation, little more than a hundred years ago, in England :—

“Wool,” Adam Smith says, writing in 1776, “cannot be packed in any box, barrel, cask, case, chest, or any other package, but only in packs of leather or pack-cloth on which must be marked on the outside the word ‘wool’ or ‘yarn,’ in letters not less than three inches long, on pain of forfeiting the same, and the package, and three shillings for every pound weight. It cannot be loaded on any horse or cart, or carried by land within five miles of the coast, but between sun rising and sun setting, on pain of forfeiting the same, the horses and carriages. . . . In the particular counties of Kent and Sussex the restrictions are still more troublesome. Every owner of wool within ten miles of the sea coast must give an account in writing, three days after shearing, to the next officer of the customs, of the number of his fleeces and of the places where they are lodged. And before he removes any part of them he must give the like notice of the number and weight of the fleeces and of the name and abode of the person to whom they are sold, and of the place in which it is intended that they should be carried. No person within fifteen miles of the sea in the said counties can

buy any wool before he enters into bond to the King that no part of the wool which he shall so buy shall be sold by him to any other person within fifteen miles of the sea. If any wool is found carrying towards the sea side in the said counties, unless it has been entered and security given as aforesaid, it is forfeited, and the offender also forfeits three shillings for every pound weight."

This only a hundred and twenty years ago, and now we have the populations of the North-West in Canada and of Victoria in Australia clamouring for a reduction of shipping and railway freights, which enable them to put wool, after a land and water carriage of many thousands of miles, into the London markets at  $10\frac{1}{2}d.$  per lb. Further back in that reign of Queen Elizabeth, from which the Colonial Empire takes its rise, a still stronger light is shed on the conditions of the pastoral industry in the United Kingdom. In the eighth year of Queen Elizabeth it was enacted that the exporter of sheep, lambs, or rams was for the first offence to forfeit all his goods for ever, to suffer a year's imprisonment, and then to have his left hand cut off in a market town upon a market day, to be there nailed up; and if this warning did not suffice he was for the second offence to be adjudged a felon, and to suffer death accordingly. And the descendants of Elizabethan lawmakers and woolgrowers are now sending us from one group of Colonies alone a yearly wool-clip of £25,000,000. We have most of us heard a good deal of late of the exportation of Canadian cattle, and we are all likely to hear a good deal more of the Colonial trade in frozen meat!

This is but one example of the change which has taken place in the regulation of British production and British commerce. Examples might be indefinitely multiplied, and in no department are they more interesting and remarkable than in that class of ordinance which regulated the employment of our most valuable commodity—Man. The restrictions which I have just quoted as applying to the circulation and free use of wool are not more burdensome than those which the Statute of Apprenticeship and the Law of Settlement imposed at the same time upon the circulation of labour. Under the Law of Settlement, which was not finally changed into our present Poor Law Act until the year 1834, a labourer could not remove from one parish to another without giving security and obtaining certificates, which often rendered it practically impossible for him to stir from the spot in which he happened to be born. If occupation there was slack, he had to be content to live on the smallest pittance that could be earned within sight of his own church spire. The choice of full work and



good wages in another parish was forbidden to him. Now for a few pounds he can go to Canada, Australia, or the Cape. Emigration offices in every large town will give him all the information that he needs, and the tonnage of two alone of the big steamers which are almost daily at his service exceeds the entire tonnage of the navy with which Drake and Hawkins swept the seas.

This liberty of circulation has been found to be the law of our Imperial growth. It has not been brought about by theory ; it has come as the result of practical experience. Without it our national limbs could not have spread ; the corporate Empire could not have been constructed. Imagine Australia if we had attempted to maintain there the law by which the exportation of wool was forbidden in Great Britain. Imagine Canada if a Law of Settlement had forbidden her labourers to move from one parish to another. Liberty has been essential to the existence of the Colonies, and there is every sign that their practical experience, as they too realise their growth, will confirm the experience of Great Britain. In every group the tendency is to break down within the limits of their frontiers the barriers which have imposed restrictions upon intercourse. Canada has already perfect liberty from coast to coast of her great territory. Australia is seeking to establish a similar liberty in the Australian continent. In South Africa the effort has been made to include the Dutch Republic in the area of unrestricted intercourse which there is a desire to create. It can scarcely be more than a question of time when the outside barriers shall also yield to that necessity of expansion towards each other of which this year has given so remarkable a promise.

We have been speaking hitherto of the expansion of the Colonies towards Great Britain, and of Great Britain towards them. But it was not for this that I detained you with an enumeration of the diversity of products and conditions which render the Colonies no less each the natural complement of the other than all are of the United Kingdom. Commercially, politically, and socially they have much to gain from mutual intercourse, and the new movement of their expansion is towards each other. Each group of Colonies has for different reasons experienced of late a need for the enlargement of its export trade. In Australia the effect of the financial crisis has been to bring about a realisation of the necessity of producing more wealth from land. But with a limited population, increased primary production involves a corresponding increase in exportation. In Canada the settlement of the North-West has created a country party of which the demand is

naturally for free production and the removal of all restrictions upon exporting industries. In both groups of Colonies political parties have espoused the cry, and while there is a strong difference of opinion as to the methods by which the desired result can be best obtained, there is practically no difference of opinion that it is desirable. In South Africa, where the annual output of gold considerably exceeds the whole yearly supply of Europe a hundred years ago, natural production is also rapidly increasing. Large items of South African export are articles of luxury, such as diamonds and feathers, and it is essential for South Africa, as it is for the other Colonies, to seek a perpetual extension of its markets.

The internal vitality of each Colonial group is thus impelling it to external action. It is natural that this action should take place along the lines of least resistance, and these lines the Colonies are fortunately finding within the Empire.

The Colonial Conference which was held at Ottawa last summer opens a new chapter in our history. The self-governing Colonies met there by delegation to organise a scheme for the development of inter-Colonial communication. If the facts which I have passed briefly in review have any weight, it is not easy to exaggerate the significance of such a movement. We have had a system of communication from the centre to the circumference. The object proposed by the Conference at Ottawa is to add to this a branch system of communication which shall follow the circumference and enclose the Empire in successive rings connecting Colony with Colony.

We have seen that the full enjoyment of the natural solidarity of interest created by the variety of production and the diversity of conditions which prevail within the Empire is impeded by two forms of obstruction. One is the artificial obstruction imposed by restrictive commercial regulations; the other is the natural obstruction created by distance. The deliberations of the Ottawa Conference were directed to the removal of both these obstructions. Its resolutions are in favour of the abolition of all treaty regulations which impede the establishment of a system of commercial reciprocity throughout the dominions of Her Majesty, and of the creation of new lines of steam shipping and telegraphic communication round that side of the Empire which is at present least well supplied.

The report of the proceedings of the Conference goes far, I think, to confirm the view, based upon general observation, that while we should of course encourage in every possible way the

removal of technical treaty difficulties, artificial restrictions upon commerce, even when they serve a certain local purpose, are merely temporary, and may be left to the operation of the same causes which have effectually abolished them in the United Kingdom. Difficulties of distance, on the other hand, must be got over by specific effort. Briefly, the artificial obstructions may be left to nature; the natural obstructions must be overcome by art. To develop our lines of steam shipping, postal and telegraphic communications, and to defend them when developed, must be the conscious mutual effort of the Colonies and Great Britain.

The Pacific offers an appropriate field in which to enter upon the realisation of this task. If all the products of Canada and Australia were the same, the mere fact that one is in winter while the other has her summer would create the opportunity for a considerable alternate trade. But their products, as we have seen, are different. Canada has no tropics, Australia no arctic regions; and as each advances in her own movement towards the north, each will possess more and more of diverse produce to exchange. Between them, as if to stimulate their efforts to reach each other, the Pacific is opening its ports. Japan has definitely broken with the Oriental system of seclusion, and offers the new market created by the wants of forty millions of progressive people. China can hardly fail to be before long opened up. Russia is carrying a railway across Northern Asia, which will within a few years connect a Russian port on the Pacific with the markets and traffic of Central Europe. The development of the Western States of America and the growing value of the Pacific Island trade hardly need to be touched upon. In the midst of these conditions how is the Imperial connection maintained? Between Canada and Australia there runs one thin line insufficiently supplied as yet with ships, and even that did not exist at the beginning of last year. There is another line by which Canada has established trading relations with Japan, but Australia has no corresponding branch line at her end. The two Colonies are unconnected by any direct cable, and commerce cannot be developed for want of the ordinary facilities.

Between Australia and South Africa the means of communication are still more slight. A fortnightly steamer carries mails from the Cape to Tasmania across the cold waters which roll to the far south of the Indian Ocean. But the return voyage is not from Tasmania to the Cape. The steamer continues her way round the world, coming back to England by Cape Horn; and there is no direct communication either by mail or telegraph possible from

Australia to South Africa. On the Atlantic from Africa to Canada lines of communication are still to make.

This is the present condition of the means of communication which exists between the Colonies. In urging the creation of one steam shipping and cable line for the Atlantic and Pacific service, the Ottawa Conference proposes the definite initiation of a new system. The construction of one line will be followed, as the occasion for them multiplies, by others. The lateral extension of the Colonies is a movement which when it has been once started may be trusted to its own impulsion to be carried on. Under its influence every producer who produces, every manufacturer who manufactures, every shipper who puts a ship upon the seas, will consciously or unconsciously weave his thread in the woof and warp of a United Empire; and it is possible to look forward without any great imaginative effort to a day when inter-Colonial shipping shall be scarcely less numerous than the shipping which now carries freight between Great Britain and the Colonies, and the vessels of an immensely increased merchant navy shall ply like ceaseless shuttles from port to port, weaving round British territory such bonds as friction cannot wear nor convulsion snap.

That a system of Imperial defence will follow upon consolidation can be scarcely doubtful. Already beginnings have been made; and if the Colonies have taken as yet no definite step to express their collective views, it is, I imagine, because they can wisely move but one step at a time. The Conference at Ottawa was a consolidation Conference. We may yet have a Conference of Sydney or Melbourne, Capetown or perhaps of London, which shall be a Conference of defence.

It used to be the view of the old economists that the home trade was the most profitable, because it gave quick returns, and the profit at both ends was made by our own country; that the foreign trade, which gives the advantage of diverse commodities, and the profit of at least one end, was the next profitable; and that the carrying trade, of which the profits at both ends went to foreign nations, was the least profitable. But even under those conditions it was considered necessary to encourage the carrying trade for the sake of maintaining our naval supremacy. With this object, the Act of Navigation was passed, and, arbitrary as were its provisions, it was long defended by the most ardent supporters of commercial liberty. If it were necessary, we too might take this view. Our naval supremacy is certainly no less important to maintain. It made us; it keeps us; without it the Empire could not exist for



a single day. But it is our pride that freedom in this relation, as in others, has replaced restriction, and that the expansion which the Act of Navigation was designed to limit has returned to us a thousandfold in strength what we sacrificed of despotic power.

The development of inter-Colonial communication promises a commerce which shall have all the advantages of the home trade in giving the profit at both ends to our own countrymen and in the facilities which modern science offers for the realisation of quick returns, all the advantages of the foreign trade in diversity of products, all the advantage of the carrying trade in giving scope to the seafaring energies of the nation. The increase of our navy is an essential accompaniment of the extension of our maritime interests; the development of those interests has for its natural effect the creation of the elements from which an efficient navy may be constantly nourished and enlarged. It is but one more of the many ways in which, under a system like ours, the forces of expansion and consolidation work almost automatically together.

When we pause and think for a moment of all that this system has produced it seems incredible that the word "separation" can be heard. Who is there born beneath the flag, one is inclined to ask, so blind to his advantage that he would accept a part when if he will he may have the whole of such a birthright? Second only in value to the robust love of liberty in our history has been the inspiring conception of the dignity of union; and we may, I believe, look confidently to the expansion of the Colonies to prove that the fullest measure of the one will but strengthen and affirm the other, so long as the first principles of Imperial Unity are recognised to be liberty and prosperity within the Union.

#### DISCUSSION.

Major-General Sir CHARLES WARREN, G.C.M.G., K.C.B. : I feel that among other points we are very much indebted to Miss Shaw for removing differences of opinion that existed among those who are interested in the welfare of the British Empire upon two material points on which the prosperity of the Empire hinges. That is to say, in peace the development of our commerce, not only between the Mother Country and the Colonies, but between the Colonies themselves; and in war, such a complete system of defence as will enable us to hold our own in all eventualities. It is only probably upon details in these matters that there is any

disagreement. The key-note of the paper appears to consist in the part in which the lecturer calls attention to the fact that there arises in the history of an Empire a time when the Colonies must look to each other as well as to the Mother Country. I am glad to see how that underlies the Paper, and how much stress the lecturer lays upon the necessity of our going step by step and little by little. It is useless for anyone to attempt to turn over the pages of history too quickly. All those who have lived in the Colonies must recognise the various differences of administration, from the masterly inactive, to very great action, and they all must recognise how much success and failure are due to doing nothing, or to excessive activity being brought in at its proper time. The lecturer appears to show us that the time has now arrived when our Colonies must look to each other. Look at the Cape, for instance, during the last twenty years, how it has changed, how it has come forward! Twenty years ago it would have been quite impossible for the Cape to think of interchanging commodities or having anything to say to another Colony. Again in the same way look at Canada! Some years ago there was no place like Vancouver, the terminus of a great railway system, and it would have been useless to have spoken about entering into communication with another Colony to the west. But the lecturer points out that there is a time when the Colonies should endeavour to join together, and that that time is now at hand when they can fairly do their utmost to come together and trade together, and enhance the greatness of our Empire. I am quite certain that this Paper will materially conduce to what we all have at heart—the extension of the Empire by the inter-communion of the Colonies themselves.

Mr. H. C. BEETON: As representing British Columbia I could not allow this occasion to pass without acknowledging the great value and eloquence of Miss Shaw's paper, and I return her my most sincere thanks for the admirable way in which she has described the present position and future prospects of that Province. Miss Shaw alluded to the Northern extension, which I think prophetic of what may happen, when we remember that Canada has still her great Northern Territory to fill. I believe that the day is not far distant when the development of that region will be seriously undertaken, and when British Columbia will be able to avail herself of the vast resources, agricultural and mineral, lying dormant there. This Northern Territory, known as the fertile belt, was the original route surveyed by the projectors of the Canadian Pacific Railway, but for reasons of their own they preferred a more direct route and

a more expeditious completion of the railway. As a matter of fact they left the most valuable part of the Northern district untouched. When this admirable paper of Miss Shaw's is read in British Columbia, so comprehensive and exhaustive, to say nothing of its literary and picturesque style, the wonder will be that a woman could produce so able a paper. I felt small while it was being read, noticing its high quality, and realising how much less justice I could have done to this great subject. I had not the pleasure of hearing the former paper on Australia read by this lady, but was so much impressed with its exceptional quality that I determined to be here to-night.

Mr. H. H. JOHNSTON, C.B. : I was unfortunately prevented by an engagement elsewhere from arriving at the commencement of this Paper, but I have heard sufficient already to become very much interested in its scope. I have, however, very little to say of any importance, except perhaps to emphasise one point, a point which has been borne in upon me very much of late years, and that is, that it should be remembered that the British Empire is the heritage not merely of thirty-eight millions of pink and white Englishmen, but of vast multitudes of black and yellow men as well, who are joined together in a league of Peace, first and foremost, and of Commerce afterwards; and that in consequence of this we who pretend and try to be more far-sighted than those who are less educated among the inhabitants of the Empire, should not take any solely selfish view, that we should not in considering new acquisitions think whether they are suitable for our own race only, but should reflect as to whether they may not be of value to that portion of the yellow race which is under our flag, or even to our black fellow-subjects. Therefore, more especially in connection with the country from which I have just returned, it is interesting to find that the land is suitable to Indians and to black men, for we must remember we have some two hundred and fifty millions of fellow-subjects in India, as against the thirty-eight millions at home, who will be able to make a use of that country, where perhaps we cannot, on account of their greater fittedness to stand the effects of the climate. This point of view will enable us to understand the value of many of the tropical countries which are coming under our sway, for if they prove to be a great outlet for Indian emigration and trade, they will in that way fully recompense us for the labour and trouble spent in acquiring them. I feel therefore that we may cheerfully go forward in these countries of Central Africa, and that even in the advance of civilisation among the black



people we may take comfort for ourselves, more especially as we are there opening vast markets for our manufactured goods. In these new regions, although people are rapidly acquiring money, it will be a long time before local circumstances permit them to erect mills and invent machinery which can in any way compete with our own. I will not attempt at this late hour any further to detain you, but I do hope that this point of view may be kept in mind by all, and that we shall not see quite so many deprecatory remarks on this subject in the press merely because people may be disappointed that the pink and white man is not to have everything his own way.

Mr. JAMES HUDDART: In common with many present to-night, this is the second occasion I have had the pleasure of listening to Miss Shaw. Speaking as an Anglo-Australian who has lived a generation in that Australia of which she has been speaking so eloquently to-night, I must say of them that they swear by Miss Shaw. We look upon her as an empire-builder; as a stateswoman. It is a happy circumstance, that the great natural ability with which she has been gifted, has been devoted in recent years to acquiring a thorough knowledge and grasp of the outlying portions of this Empire; and I think the great journal of which we are all so proud, which is so much linked up with the history of the British Empire (I allude of course to *The Times*), has done infinite service to those who, like myself, have lived so long outside the heart of the Empire, by sending that lady to South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, thus enabling her to come into close personal touch with those groups of Colonies, and to write, as she does, so helpfully and so hopefully. What is wanted nowadays is courage. This British Empire of ours was not built up by pessimists. The world is carried along by optimists, and to the last, this British race of ours must hold on to its native courage. To my mind Miss Shaw has struck the right note in speaking of the natural wealth of Australia, and of the potentialities of the whole of our great Colonies. I know we Englishmen have that in us which our forefathers had, and which has enabled the race to unravel and work through all those difficulties which have beset us. There are, I believe, no difficulties in the Colonies which cannot be worked out successfully. I confess that I, as an Anglo-Australian, am ashamed of the fact that we are not yet federated. When the Hon. Mackenzie Bowell the other day went to Australia from Canada, he said: 'I do not understand you. Wherever I go, you are all crying aloud for Federation; you all believe in it, and yet you do not federate! Why don't you?' There seems to be one thing that stops us, and



that is we want the man, and that man appears not yet to have arrived. The man who shall lead the Australias to confederation must be a man of the type of the late Sir John Macdonald, who was gifted with that rare genius of attracting and managing men, and who was able to surround himself with a group of able and patriotic Canadians, who, in spite of great difficulties, succeeded in creating Canada into one great Dominion ! I see before me Agents-General, some of whom I have known for years, and there is one man in this room, who, when Premier of Victoria (the Hon. Duncan Gillies), worked earnestly for Federation. I hope we shall hear him to-night. I believe that when we get the Federation at which Miss Shaw hinted, we shall find a great impetus given to Australian development, and until we do get Federation, I do not think the country can reach its potentialities. On behalf of the Empire, if I may say so, I take the opportunity of thanking Miss Shaw for her splendid and statesmanlike paper. Its essence will, to-morrow morning be upon the breakfast-tables of the Empire.

Sir GEORGE T. GOLDIE, K.C.M.G. : I feel some difficulty in saying even a few words, because Mr. Johnston has already spoken on behalf of the continent with which my work has been concerned. In tropical Africa the conditions are entirely different from those of the Colonies with which Miss Shaw's paper has mainly dealt. In that remarkable paper, which embraces the whole of the Empire, she has made most generous reference to our efforts to develop under great difficulties tropical regions in which Europeans cannot bring up their children, and can only live for a certain number of years themselves ; but her paper was naturally devoted mainly to the healthier and long established Colonies of the Empire with which we are more familiar. I think that Mr. Johnston did quite right in bringing to our minds the interests of the coloured races ; but there is another point that is not sufficiently dwelt upon nowadays, and I would urge this especially, that there are great markets for English manufactures to be created in those tropical regions, and that it is almost as important for this country to find new markets as land upon which to throw its surplus population. I perfectly agree that we would not willingly listen to the word separation in our Colonies. Still, supposing we were not wise in time, and that, as a result, separation should come, we should clearly have to fall back to a large extent on what are called Colonies of plantation for markets for our manufactures. I do not wish to decry Colonies of settlement, in order to cry up Colonies of plantation ; but I would remind you that the latter—of which India is the

foremost, and tropical Africa the next in value—are of great importance to this Empire, even though our English people cannot live there from generation to generation.

The Chairman (Lord BRASSEY, K.C.B.): When I consider the manner in which our platform this evening is filled, that there are here so many eminent men—there is a Pender, a Sir Saul Samuel, a Bevan Edwards, a Gillies, a Clarke, and a Bulwer—when I look round upon this galaxy of eminencies, I might perhaps wonder there has not been a more eager competition to take part in the discussion on the paper, but I think upon another view you will recognise, as I do, that this hesitation is after all the greatest compliment that could be offered to Miss Shaw. Her paper is too good, far too good, to be discussed in a perfunctory manner upon a first perusal, and without deliberate consideration. Speaking for myself, I may say, in proposing a vote of thanks to her, that I speak under the great disadvantage of not having seen the paper before Miss Shaw so admirably read it. It does not, however, need preparation to be in a position to say that Miss Shaw has passed in review our great Empire with a magnificent sweep of thought; that she has drawn upon an illimitable store of information, and that she has treated the whole subject with splendid eloquence. She has led us, I think as she would wish to lead us, up to this conclusion, that it is impossible that the word Separation shall be heard amongst us. How is the Unity of the Empire to be best secured? Earlier this evening I referred to those agencies and means which tend to establish a common sentiment, a feeling of mutual regard between the Colonies and the Mother Country. To have the sentiment of Unity is a great point, and that is one of the best means by which the Empire can be kept together; but there are other and more practical means, if you like to call them so, by which this great object can be accomplished. We have recently had a second and most successful Conference of representatives of all parts of the Empire at Ottawa, and in that Conference the means were clearly indicated by which in the judgment of those present this Imperial Unity can be promoted. The improvement of communication was especially insisted upon. The Conference urged the establishment of additional telegraphic communication between Australia and Canada, and we are glad to know that this important suggestion has been taken up by the Canadian Government, and that they are on the point of giving effect to it. There was another kind of communication to which the Conference gave special attention, and that was the improve-

ment of steam communication between the Mother Country and the furthest limits of the Empire through the great Canadian Dominion. That suggestion of the Conference has not yet been carried into effect, but I would say, and I am sure you will all say, that it would be a most deplorable thing if the suggestion of improved steam communication between England and the Antipodes through Canada should not be carried into effect. Canada has already done her part nobly; she has promised a handsome subsidy for the purpose. I should be ashamed if the Government of the Mother Country were not prepared also to give a handsome contribution for so excellent a purpose. We have in the fact of Mr. Huddart's presence here an assurance that private enterprise is ready to co-operate, and when I was in Canada lately I heard with great satisfaction from the President of the great Canadian Pacific Railway that he and his colleagues are deeply interested in this project, and stand prepared to assist. When I remember all this, I refuse to think that the Mother Country will fail to do her part, and therefore I think we may hope that the second suggestion of the Conference is on the point of being carried into effect. Improved communication by telegraph and improved steamer services will thus form another link to bind the Empire together, and so we shall undoubtedly go on from time to time using such opportunities as arise to promote the excellent work which Miss Shaw has in such eloquent terms commended to our hearts. I will now ask you to give a hearty vote of thanks to Miss Shaw for her Paper.

The Hon. DUNCAN GILLIES : Perhaps I may be allowed to say a few words by way of seconding that proposition, though I should not have risen but for the slight reference made to me by my friend Mr. Huddart. I am delighted to have been here this evening. I have obtained a copy of the address, and although I have not had the opportunity of perusing it carefully I have no difficulty whatever in understanding its drift. It is one, as I apprehend, of an unusual and rare character. It has touched on many questions appertaining to the Colonies; but the great question that has been raised and which all who have heard Miss Shaw will be bound to consider is, What the future relations of the Colonies will be to the Empire. Miss Shaw has not dealt with the question of Imperial Federation, which may possibly be in the distant future, but she has dealt with a far more important question—which is the question of the hour—viz. how far it may be possible by judicious measures to draw the bonds between the Colonies and the Empire still closer

and closer together. One can understand the great differences which have arisen in the past between the Mother Country and the Colonies. Those differences have year by year been growing less and less. The trouble between Great Britain and her American Colonies taught Great Britain a lesson—a wise and useful lesson—which she has never forgotten, and induced her to carry out a policy with reference to her Colonies wholly different from that she formerly pursued. The Colonies of the Empire have, since that day, been established on a totally different foundation, the object of the Mother Country now being to give them the most perfect freedom that is compatible with their ability to exercise it. If we look round the Colonies of this Empire, at any rate those enjoying responsible government, I venture to say there are no freer communities on the face of the earth. Sometimes one hears the word separation. That is not the voice of the people. Have we ever in the world's history heard of any number of men who have responsible government, and who possess perfect freedom to legislate on everything within their powers, separating from the country that gave them such a great measure of freedom unless, indeed, they had something better before them? Where is the possibility of better here? If they established to-morrow another United States they would not have greater freedom. They are at liberty to legislate on all questions affecting themselves without interference from the Crown, and the only occasion, I believe, on which the Imperial Government has advised the Crown to withhold its assent from legislation passed by a Colony has been when that legislation affected not merely the Colony itself, but others of Her Majesty's subjects outside that Colony—an interference on the part of the Crown which was afterwards admitted to be perfectly just. So that separation, I am confident, is for many a day to come outside the region of practical politics. On the other hand, there are two or three large questions raised by Miss Shaw's paper that could not very well be discussed this evening—questions as to how far the Colonies can come into touch with the Empire or rather with the Imperial Government as representing the two Houses of Parliament—how far they can be able, in every particular of life, to work together. It is true that the Colonies are energetic, that they work hard, that they look to their own advantage. To ignore that would be to make a great practical mistake. They are anxious naturally to make their way. It is the same with Great Britain herself. I do not say they are not anxious to do what they can for the welfare of the community, but they look from



different standpoints often, and as certain as we are living, so long as we can show by reasonable arguments and advice, and by conciliation where necessary, that we are able to work together for a common cause, common sense will on the whole prevail. The more we meet together in such meetings as this and discuss great questions affecting our common interest, the more likely are we to come to a national conclusion. The Ottawa Conference is a case in point. From such gatherings I anticipate the best results. In conclusion, I will only say for myself that I thank Miss Shaw for raising these great and important questions.

The vote of thanks was passed with acclamation.

Miss SHAW: I thank you for your too great indulgence to me, and I will ask you to join me in giving a hearty vote of thanks to Lord Brassey for so kindly presiding over our proceedings to-night.

The motion was cordially approved, and Lord Brassey having thanked the meeting, the proceedings ended.

An Afternoon Meeting was held in the Library of the Institute on Tuesday, July 31, at 4.30 p.m., when Miss C. H. Spence, of Adelaide, South Australia, read a Paper on the

## SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL ASPECTS OF AUSTRALIAN LIFE.

Sir FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G., a Vice-President of the Institute, presided.

[ABSTRACT.]

MISS SPENCE began by saying that she was the first representative Australian woman who had addressed the Institute; for, though born in Scotland, she had gone to Adelaide at the age of thirteen, and had grown up in a Colony not three years old at that time.

Travel had shown her how great is the bond of a common language and literature. The patriotic song of America is set to the air of 'God Save the Queen.' There is much ignorance of our great South lands in America, but all reformers watch affairs in Australia and New Zealand with intense interest.

Australia was founded on convictism, a thing as bad for the transporting country as for that to which criminals were sent, for so long as offenders were sent out of sight a new crop took their places, and there was no serious attempt at reformatory methods.

South Australia was a free country, founded by doctrinaires. She is still called the happy hunting-ground of the faddist. In five directions her lead has been followed: in the separation of Church from State; in the secret ballot; in the Real Property Act for land transfer; in giving the municipal vote to women; and in taking pauper children out of institutions and boarding them in natural homes.

The sixth fad, the taxation of unimproved land values for the general revenue, has only been initiated in New Zealand.

Economics can be more easily studied in new countries. We see how enterprise expands into unwise speculation, and how severely all classes suffer when the natural development receives a check. For the recent terrible financial crisis British capitalists are much to blame. Mr. Goschen's conversion of the Three per Cents. was the signal for sending millions of money out to banks and finance companies, to inflate the monstrous land boom of Melbourne and its suburbs. Australian capitalists themselves, seeing the steady fall of produce and of profits, due very much to the appreciation of gold, preferred to put money into the banks at five per cent.

on fixed deposit. When the natural result of aggressive banking followed, these capitalists began to withdraw their deposits, and this and the failure of building societies financed by the banks were the causes of the failure of some banks, and of the suspension and reconstruction of many more.

She did not take a very rosy view of Australian finance, nor did she take a pessimistic view. The resources of Australia are enormous. Our homogeneous population makes our progress more normal than that of America, which has foreigners and negroes to absorb. The fact that labour is done by free men and is honourable made our convicts more readily absorbed into the industrial population than in Virginia and Tennessee, where work was done by slaves, and now by coloured people.

The general revenue provides schools all over Australia, whereas the Southern States find it hard from local rates to provide two schools in each district, as the white and the coloured keep apart.

There is more social freedom in the North and the West of America than in Australia, but Australia has more political freedom. Horse-racing and betting are the greatest evils among the Australian youth. No people buy more books, and of a better class, than the people of Australia and New Zealand.

As for authors, we have a few good names, and there is a recent outcrop of fiction-writers. There is no first-class poet. Mutual admiration cannot raise any of our helpful verse-writers to the ranks of the Immortals. But our newspapers are able and respectable, and are built on the large and liberal lines of English journalism. As a journalist, she was glad to work in Australia, rather than in the States.

The great object of her life for over thirty years has been electoral reform on the lines of Hare's single transferable vote, applied to districts to return six or more representatives. When labour and capital, which ought to be friendly, were organised as enemies, she began to speak in South Australia, and, by the aid of ballot papers, she had sought to show that reform was just and practicable. This was her main object in going to America, and she believed that public attention had been aroused there. Second to this, was her advocacy of homes rather than institutions for those children who were thrown on public charity, which is a burning subject at the present moment in England.

The wave of depression has checked emigration from the Mother Country to Australia, whereas now is the best time for people with some capital and some common sense to go there to settle. There

never was a time when land could be bought more cheaply, or when it would be easier to make a start. The more people are in Australia the better off they would all be. She concluded by quoting from Mr. E. A. Petherick, that Australia sends to Great Britain annually five hundred million pounds weight of wool, in the manufacture of which, perhaps, millions of her population are employed. The Mother Country imports about half her food supply. Would it not be better to manufacture in Australia, where food is abundant—to take the workers to the raw material, rather than the raw material and the food to the workers?

A discussion ensued, in which the Hon. Thomas Playford (Agent-General for South Australia), Mr. George Beetham (New Zealand), Mr. Leonard W. Thrupp, Miss Florence Davenport Hill, and the Chairman took part; after which votes of thanks were passed to the Reader of the Paper and to the Chairman, and the meeting separated.



An Afternoon Meeting was held in the Library of the Institute on Tuesday, November 27, 1894, at 4.30 p.m., when Mr. George G. Dixon read a Paper on

THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE NORTH-WEST DISTRICT  
OF BRITISH GUIANA.

Sir HENRY BARKLY, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., in the Chair.

[ABSTRACT.]<sup>1</sup>

THE Colony of British Guiana has pursued for many years the mistaken policy of relying for support upon one staple industry, and her present financial position shows the result of this short-sighted course, now that that particular industry upon which she has placed her sole dependence is no longer a flourishing one.

For several years the sugar market has been depressed, and it is to the gold industry that the Colony now looks for support. But before any permanent benefit can be derived from this source much has to be done for its advancement.

The interior of British Guiana is but little known.

Only in latter years has any systematic attempt been made to find out of what this great territory is capable, and it was not until gold was reported to exist there in paying quantities that public attention was attracted thither. The pioneers of this new industry had great difficulties to contend with. They knew nothing of the interior, but believed it to be so unhealthy that none but coloured people could stand the climate. Men of this class had to be found, who would take charge of expeditions, conduct them into the interior, and work for gold. Neither the labourers, nor the men in charge of them, knew anything of the work before them. To inexperienced persons such as these was intrusted the conduct of expeditions costing from \$600 to \$1,000!

AN EARLY GOLD EXPEDITION TO THE NORTH-WEST DISTRICT.]

In order to realise the tremendous odds against the success of these ventures, let us follow one of the early expeditions to the gold-fields of the north-west district. To reach the workings at the foot of the first falls on the Barima River necessitated a seven days' journey in open boats propelled by paddlers. The party, consisting, we will say, of twelve men and a foreman or manager, under contract for four months, had to face unknown

<sup>1</sup> A copy of the Paper itself is preserved in the Library, and is always available for reference.

difficulties and dangers. Once at least during the journey the boat was damaged by striking on the sunken timber, which everywhere impeded the course of the river, causing a long delay while she was unloaded and repaired. In wet weather the stream was very strong, and in the dry season innumerable trees had to be cut through to allow of the passage of the boats. On landing, a temporary house was erected in which to store their provisions, after which the work on land commenced. Every likely creek was prospected, until a spot was found which the man in charge considered sufficiently rich to pay. Here a clearing was made, houses erected, the tools brought in and the work began.

The top-soil to a depth of four feet had to be stripped off to expose the gold-bearing gravel; toms and sluices were then set up in which to wash it. These instruments were of the most primitive kind, and as the men were ignorant of the mode of using them to the best advantage, the loss of gold was very heavy. The managers having no systematic mode of working, would jump from spot to spot all over the flats, instead of working them steadily from end to end. No provision was made for the storage of water, and in the wet season their shallow pits were flooded. At the end of the four months all but one man, who was left in charge, returned to Georgetown, where a new set of labourers, and generally a new manager, had to be obtained, and the work recommenced. Under these circumstances it is difficult to understand how any of the placer workings paid, yet most of them did, and secured handsome incomes to their owners.

#### IMPROVED COMMUNICATION WITH THE GOLD-FIELDS OF THE NORTH-WEST.

The Barima River has now been sufficiently cleared of fallen timber to allow of steam communication to the foot of the first falls.

#### GOLD RETURNS.

By the report of the Commissioner of Mines we see that there has been an increase of one ounce per man of gold obtained during 1892-93, as compared with 1891-92. Also, that in 1884 the gold return from the Colony was 250 ozs., valued at £1,019, which amount has risen to 138,527 ozs. in 1893-94, representing a value of £510,710. Up to the present, the gold industry has been practically financed with local capital. The principal work has been done in the upper portions of the creeks, where the surface soil is shallow; here nuggets have been found weighing up to forty ounces.

Very few workings in the district exceed 15 ft. in depth, and no boring has yet been undertaken to prove whether there is a second gravel formation. As regards quartz, the Commissioner of Mines reports that it is very rich, many surface samples assaying eight to ten ounces to the ton.

That such satisfactory returns of gold as those quoted above have been obtained in spite of such difficulties, speaks well for the richness of the country.

#### DISCOVERY OF DIAMONDS.

Several diamonds have been accidentally found, which have been pronounced valuable stones; and it is stated on good authority that dry diggings in all probability exist in the district where they were discovered.

#### HINDRANCES TO MINING ENTERPRISE.

The uncertainty about the interior—the supposed unhealthiness of its climate—the want of proper communication with the gold-fields—the unsettled state of the boundaries—and the regulation prohibiting the use of raw gold as a legal tender—have all tended to discourage enterprise.

#### CLIMATE.

A closer acquaintance with the interior is rapidly convincing the Colonists that its climate is far more healthy than that of the coast.

#### PROPOSED NEW ROUTE AND ITS ADVANTAGES.

The construction of an overland route from the foot of the first falls on the Barima to above the worst rapids on the Cuyuni River, and the introduction of steam communication on that river for a distance of some eighty miles, is now seriously contemplated. This would open up a rich mining district, establish an import and export trade with Venezuela in cattle and mining stores, and be of great political importance.

#### AGRICULTURAL POSSIBILITIES.

The flats on each side of the creeks would grow good cocoa, and the undulating ground is well adapted to the cultivation of coffee. In the Indian clearings, with little cultivation, the usual tropical products are successfully grown.

#### RAW GOLD A LEGAL TENDER.

If raw gold were made a legal tender, provision stores would be started in the mining districts, and the labourers would settle in the neighbourhood and cultivate the soil, instead of returning to

Georgetown every four months. Thus, by degrees, townships would be formed, and the cost of working for gold greatly reduced.

#### CONCLUSION.

We have seen from the foregoing what possibilities there are in store for the north-west district; but to facilitate their realisation there is one thing urgently needed, and that is the solution of the boundary question. The British Government has offered to settle the question by arbitration on certain lines, to which the Venezuelans have not at present agreed; but, if it could be made clear to them that by mutual co-operation an important trade could be opened up between the two countries to the benefit of both, might not what has failed diplomatically be accomplished commercially?

A discussion followed, in which the following took part:—Mr. Neville Lubbock, Colonel J. S. Young, Mr. Robert Tennant, Mr. H. G. Slade. Votes of thanks to the Reader of the Paper and the Chairman were passed.



## SECOND ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Second Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, December 11, 1894, when Sir Henry J. Wrixon, K.C.M.G., Q.C., read a paper on "The Ottawa Conference; its National Significance."

Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., G.C.M.G., C.B., a Member of the Council of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 22 Fellows had been elected, viz., 7 Resident and 15 Non-Resident.

### Resident Fellows :—

*Jamsitjie F. Bhungara, Sydney F. Gedge, Robert A. Ker, Wm. Martin Leake, D. Boswell Reid, M.R.C.S.E., R. Hope Spens, W.S., Leonard C. Stuckey.*

### Non-Resident Fellows :—

*Alexr. Cumming Bailie, F.R.G.S. (Transvaal), George G. Dixon, C.E. (British Guiana), Lt.-General W. H. Goodenough, R.A., C.B. (Commanding the Troops, Cape Colony), Walter E. Hudson (Transvaal), George H. Hulett (Natal), Hugh G. Joseph (India), Charles Wm. Langtree (Victoria), Wharram Megginson (Ceylon), S. Cartwright Reed, M.D., J.P. (Cape Colony), William Scott (Mauritius), James Stuart (Swaziland), Mortimer Stuckey (South Australia), Frederic S. Tatham, M.L.A. (Natal), Charles W. Van der Wall, M.A., LL.B. (Victoria), Herbert Wm. Wigan (Victoria).*

It was also announced that donations to the Library of books, maps, &c., had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies, and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Sir Henry Wrixon to read his Paper on

## THE OTTAWA CONFERENCE: ITS NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE.

I DESIRE to ask your attention this evening to some results of the Imperial and Intercolonial Conference held at Ottawa in June and July last, and to some lessons to be learnt from it that do not perhaps at first sight so readily challenge attention. I do not propose to speak of its mere official aspect, nor yet of the actual

work done at our meetings ;—these are all to be learnt from the Parliamentary Blue-book, and particularly from the Report of Lord Jersey.

The enthusiastic reception we met with throughout our 3,000 miles' journey over Canada, the feeling of common nationality, of brotherhood as members of the same great family, that was everywhere evoked, from the distant settlement on the prairies up to the centre of official life at Ottawa, or to the great cities of Toronto, Montreal, and Quebec—about all this, its meaning, its lesson for us now, I desire to speak.

Like so many other events that mark history, this came about without design, and indeed quite unexpectedly. In 1893 Mr. Mackenzie Bowell, Minister of Trade and Commerce for the Dominion of Canada, visited Australia, in company with Mr. Sandford Fleming, for the purpose of conferring with the several Governments there with a view to promote the extension of trade between Australasia and Canada, and also upon the subject of a telegraph connecting Canada with Australia. When he came there he found that he could not, in the time he had at his disposal, visit all the widely separated capitals of Australasia, so it was proposed to hold a meeting of the representatives of the various Colonies in one of the Australian cities ; but the sitting of different local Parliaments during Mr. Mackenzie Bowell's visit rendered it difficult to get a meeting of the Ministers of the Governments to be represented. Why not, he suggested, wait till a later period when you will be in recess, and send representatives to meet us in Canada ? At first the proposal did not excite much attention among us. Afterwards, when the formal invitation came from Ottawa, it was felt only proper to accept it, and a hope more or less active was excited that something might be done in regard to the Pacific Cable and the line of mail steamers in which we were interested. This business side of the matter was the one that claimed whatever attention was given to the enterprise. My brother delegates and I regarded our mission as a commercial one, to be carried through by us as effectively and as quietly as possible. The terms of our commission were to assist at " a Conference at Ottawa, Canada, for the purpose of considering the trade relations existing between Canada and the respective countries represented, and the best means of extending those relations, and of securing the construction of a direct telegraphic cable between Australia and the Dominion of Canada."

When we first touched Canadian soil at Victoria, in the distant province of British Columbia, we became sensible of some new

feelings regarding our undertaking. We were met on board the steamer by a party of the leading men of the place, together with some who had come specially from Ottawa, who greeted us warmly as brother Colonists come to visit them, and offered us the cordial hospitality of their city. The hearty feeling displayed here was continued with enthusiasm at Vancouver, Winnipeg, Ottawa, Toronto, Montreal, Quebec, the places we visited ; while further invitations came from all sides which the want of time prevented us from accepting. It was not an official reception—that we would have expected and understood—it was a people's welcome. What was started as a trade mission developed into a popular demonstration. In the distant township out upon the plains, it was as warm as at the political capital itself. The people themselves took an interest in the event ; they were pleased at meeting us and grasping us by the hand—why ? Not personally, surely, but because the spectacle of Australian Colonists coming, deputed to visit them and discuss affairs of mutual interest with them, was something new which struck the people's imagination, and indeed touched, I think, the people's heart. Hence they greeted us everywhere, entertained us, had excursions for us, made us free of their clubs and public places, held meetings, made speeches to us and heard them from us. In the great and busy city of Montreal we were met upon our arrival at the wharf by sounding cannon, exploding rockets, and flags flying mast high from the ships. In the rising city of Winnipeg, 1,500 miles inland, they entertained us royally on the Saturday, while on the Sunday the respected Lieutenant-Governor of the Province came in his carriage and brought us to church. So it was throughout.

The official meeting at Ottawa was certainly an important one. For the first time in Colonial history the representatives of the self-governing Colonies, together with a representative from the Imperial Government, had met to take counsel together in a Colony. The precedent thus set, undesignedly though it came about, of meeting in a dependency of the Empire rather than here at the centre, is one likely to be followed upon some future occasions. A warm Intercolonial feeling—an enthusiasm in fact—was there excited which we could not expect to have aroused here amid great Imperial cares and concerns. At times no doubt business requirements will point to the wisdom of meeting in London ; but whether in London or in a Colony, we may look forward to meetings of representatives of England and her dependencies from time to time to discuss matters of common interest as a new institution that has grown up



naturally but unexpectedly out of the new conditions of our Empire. There was this also to be marked about the meeting, that Great Britain is the only nation that could have shown such a gathering—a gathering of representatives of vast dependencies peopled by her children, all perfectly free and perfectly contented, all anxious to co-operate with one another, all devoted to her. I will not mention foreign nations by name, but if we wish to think of a contrast we have only to consider what sort of representative meeting from their Colonial possessions any one of them could have achieved. I may add that in our discussions at the Council Board we Australians again felt the value of federation and unity. Upon each question the representatives of Canada spoke with one voice for a great Dominion; we with five voices for five smaller communities. Certainly when we return to our people we can urge union with renewed earnestness; and possibly Canada, having thus saved herself by her patriotic spirit and political intelligence, may assist us by her example. That our deliberations have not been without result even so far is shown by the fact that tenders for laying the Pacific cable have been already called for and received, and that those tenders show that some of the difficulties, urged as insurmountable some years ago, now, owing to the advance of mechanical science, exist no longer. The meeting itself, then, I say, was important, and important work was done; but to my mind the significant feature about the whole movement was the warm feeling of common brotherhood towards us Australians that it evoked from the Canadian people—and a brotherhood, let me remind you, founded upon the fact that we are all the sons of the one parent country, and the subjects of the same gracious Queen. For nothing was more noticeable throughout than the intense feeling of pride in the Empire, and of loyalty to the Sovereign of that Empire. “God save the Queen” was an air that came naturally to the lips of all men. I have never heard it more cordially, more affectionately, sounded than at festive meetings—and indeed sometimes at business meetings, too—in Canada.

But now what is the real meaning of all this warm display of fellow feeling between distant Colonists, and what can we learn from it? It is worth thinking over this, because I imagine we see in it a landmark that indicates a growing change in the conditions of our Empire life. It is not always that people living in the midst of a national development notice what is going on around them.

We have heard of the “Expansion of England,” and wonderful that



expansion has been. A century ago her population numbered only some nine and a half millions ; her revenue came to about fifteen and a half millions sterling. Now English-speaking peoples number not less than 120 millions. The revenue of the United Kingdom alone is over 90 millions yearly. The sun never sets upon our flag ; under that flag men of all the nationalities of the earth shelter ; under it all the languages of the sons of men are spoken. But this expansion has necessarily carried with it the weakness of want of concentration—want of concentration in fact and, as incident to that, want of a united feeling, which it was obviously difficult to maintain among people, though sprung from a common stock, who were widely scattered over the globe, and seldom saw or heard of one another. Our enemies spoke of us as a sheet of brown paper, easy to crumble up. Our kinsfolk here in England did not exactly know where on earth we were. By even educated men we were regarded as out of the known world. Sir Arthur Helps vouches for the fact that a Secretary of State for the Colonies some forty years ago said to him upon assuming office, " Just get a map here—will you ?—and show me where these places are." Being so widely separated by nature, it is scarcely surprising that many eminent political men here desired to see us separated altogether. They regarded parting as inevitable, nay, as almost accomplished. We at one end of the world, they at another, let us each go our different ways and fulfil our separate destinies. Some fifty or sixty years ago such was the scattered condition of the communities that constituted the Colonial Empire of Great Britain. When the Englishman left his native land for Australia, or even for Canada, he felt he parted from it for ever—went away to the new home, to forget the old, and to be forgotten by it. Those were the days when the family farewells of emigrants were serious things, the days of those partings that crushed the life out of human hearts, and, anticipating the grave itself, separated child from parent, brother from sister, friend from friend.

In fifty years all this has been wonderfully altered. The Ocean Greyhound, going fifteen to twenty knots an hour, the locomotive penetrating every continent, the electric cable interchanging ideas between the most distant countries as quickly as even divine thought itself—all these are again drawing the Empire together. The expansion has been followed by a concentration. The world is getting smaller. People go to and fro through the Empire in a manner before unthought of ; and people in all parts of the Empire are brought together in feeling and sentiment by daily hearing and

reading in each part of all that the other parts are concerned with. It is as easy now to go to Australia as it was to go to Ireland in the days of Dean Swift. It is easier to go to Canada than it was then to go to Scotland. It is a common vacation trip to run over from the Dominion and spend a fortnight or three weeks in this series of cities that you call London. Working people come over every few years to see their relatives. Even from Australia, three or four months is sufficient to visit the old land, transact important business there, and return. You bid your friends a cheerful good-bye, and before they have well missed you from the streets of Melbourne, Sydney, or Brisbane, you are back again. Here in London you meet your fellow-Colonists at every turn, and in our cities there is a constant stream of Englishmen, some on business visits, some tourists, but all keeping up the contact between the old land and the new. As a fact, we are nearer and closer to one another than we were a few years ago.

And who will say that this process of concentration is now to stop? The six months' voyage to Australia of my childhood is now reduced to nearly one month. Are my children to see no parallel improvement? Are no new routes to be opened up, no new mechanical triumphs in store for us? Have we exhausted the power of steam; have we even entered upon the potency of electricity? Surely not. More and more, human invention will conquer distance, and nearer and nearer we will all come to one another. We will see one another more, know one another more, become more interested in one another; become, in fact, more like one people. A closer fellow-feeling will spring up among all the peoples of the Empire, such as has lately been shown so markedly by the people of Canada towards us, the representatives of the people of Australia. That, to my mind, is the significance of their welcome to us—they voice the friendly welcome natural between fellow-countrymen. The growing concentration of the Empire is turning us from being strangers into citizens of the one great Kingdom.

We cannot perhaps expect the old feeling of patriotism for the whole to be so active throughout a wide Empire as in a small country; for patriotism such as the Jew felt for Jerusalem, the Greek for Athens, the Roman for the city by the yellow Tiber, is a local virtue; but we may expect a united national spirit, and a pride in that Empire which may be quite as strong at the more distant parts as even at the centre.

But what I desire to call attention to and to emphasise is, that

these works of human invention in abridging space and in remedying the defects that were attendant upon the expansion of England are done in vain, unless we, the people of this widespread Empire, recognise the opportunities that the new conditions offer, and cultivate, by all sound means, closer relationship with one another. This is our part in the change which Providence is bringing about. It is in vain that science makes her discoveries, and man exerts his ingenuity, if we do not avail ourselves of the means proffered to us of drawing nearer to one another. One plain duty, then, for the Empire is to assist in developing new and faster lines of communication throughout its limits, the centre taking its share and the dependencies each in proportion their share. And this, not perhaps at first looking merely to the immediate commercial result, but as part of the policy of a United Empire. Surely, if we regard the vast yearly expenditure, necessary though it be, for military and warlike purposes—if we observe how nations construct long lines of railways, at times through deserts, to be ready to convey fighting men to distant frontiers, how cables are laid beneath the seas to secure instant despatch for the messages of war, how the flag of the costly warship flutters in all the waters of the world—and all done wisely enough to secure the national safety and honour—when we observe the immense cost of all this, we will not think that an expenditure comparatively trifling is wasted if it promotes that united national feeling, and that common national life, which has so often proved, in times of trial, the mainstay in the defence of nations. For we must not despise public feeling and sentiment as a trifling thing in people's affairs. Australia felt it when she sent a regiment to the Soudan. Sentiment inspires action. Indeed, the idea of a wise man was : "Let me make the people's ballads, and I will let you make their laws." I say, therefore, that it is just national policy to promote by all such practical means this growing sentiment of union, and one well worth the small monetary cost that aiding new means of communication may at first involve. I say "at first," for it is surprising how soon trade springs up about every new route, following not only the flag but the electric cable and the first ocean steamer. Nor is it the Colonies only that are concerned in this drawing together of the Empire. How can England face the coming world of big nations with her thirty or forty millions here in these islands ? And she cannot increase the population here with benefit to herself. But not so Russia, or even Germany, and not so that newest and vastest of nations, the United States—that land where all the social problems of the sons of men are cast into the



crucible of experience. How can England face these without her Colonies one with herself?

This is the national aspect of the Pacific cable and the Pacific and Atlantic line of steamers that it was one of the objects of the Ottawa Conference to promote. Until lately, we in Australia knew of Canada only as a dependency of the Empire, very distant from ourselves—quite out of our way—to be approached only round the Atlantic or through the United States. Now we find that by the Pacific, Sydney is within eighteen or twenty days' sail of British Columbia, and, owing to the great Canadian Pacific Railway, within twenty-three or twenty-five days' journey of Ottawa or Quebec. Fast steamers are then to bring us thence to England in five or six days. The journey during at least six months of the year is a delightful one. The Pacific Ocean is as bright and calm as the summer Mediterranean, while the railway journey, long though it be, is made with comfort—and indeed luxury. The scenery over and throughout the Rocky Mountains is something to remember for a lifetime. You find Nature in her grandest and most awful forms—not yet at all improved—perhaps spoiled, by human labours, but solitary, immense, eternal. It is indeed the land of the mountain and the flood and the cataract, but with a vastness and a loneliness all its own. Leaving these, you come out upon great plains that also have a grandeur of their own, as yet in a great part uncultivated, but in time to be the home of millions of the hardy and industrious sons of Englishmen: As you look out upon the broad expanse of these as yet unpeopled plains, stretching out upon all sides to touch the horizon, you are reminded of the great ocean itself. You see its vastness, without its sterility. From these you reach the more populous parts of Canada, and come to towered cities and the busy hum of men. From this grand country we in Australia find that we are distant, even with present means of transit, less than a three weeks' journey. We are four millions of the Queen's subjects; they are five. We too have our vast, and perhaps even more fertile plains (now with streams of artesian water flowing throughout them), our mountain country, not so grand, but more habitable, our mineral wealth, our equable climate, above all, our people, like theirs, mainly of the Saxon race—with the enterprise, the spirit, it may be the restlessness, that marks the Englishman, and also to fully develop, I trust, his fixity of purpose and dogged determination to carry through to the end whatever he has put his hand to. These two peoples, I say, find that as the world is getting smaller, they



too are coming closer to each other, and to the mother land. They have stretched out hands across their peaceful ocean and grasped each other as men belonging to the one family, and living under the shadow of the one national house-tree. I do not care here to go into business details, but the question for the Imperial Government, for Canada, and for the Australian Colonies, is whether it would not be a wise policy to promote this union of peoples with one another and with England by availing ourselves fully of those modern inventions which abridge space for some purposes and abolish it for others. Also, is it not something to have a highway for our Empire round the world over its own territory, with cable communication under our own control? Is this nothing in peace or in war? Is it not worth some money?

I should add that there is a further aspect of the question of national policy that must not be forgotten. We wish to see the influence of England dominant over the Pacific Ocean. With Australia at one end, British Columbia at the other, New Zealand and Fiji in between, we think that our Empire ought to have a commanding influence over it. The enterprise of our nation, as embodied in Cook, explored these seas and their continents; our trade mainly goes, and will more and more go, over them; the active foot of the Englishman yearly penetrates through the islands, opening up new spheres of energy. England ought to dominate here. Does this seem to any to be a visionary, unpractical longing upon our part? Let me remind them that if in the past this feeling had been more active, we in Australia would have been saved from some evils that are sufficiently practical now, but which bear in them the seeds of much greater dangers in the future. New Guinea, just touching our coast, would not in part belong to one foreign Power, and New Caledonia, four days' sail from us, to another—New Caledonia, to which are yearly drafted from a foreign country hundreds of its criminals, to be afterwards filtered on to our young communities. And what do we see just now? Events rapidly moving are developing great possibilities of progress upon that side of the world, in which England may take a leading part with use to humanity, and also with advantage to herself. The opening up, or possibly the breaking up, of China may follow the uprising of Japan, and the stolid, stunted *régime* of ages may grow and brighten before the advance of Western civilisation. Is not this a time to multiply and strengthen the ties between Britain and her children in the South?

: This, then, seems to me to be the lesson we learn as to the

present duty of the Empire and its dependencies. Other results of the practical change that we see going on lie in the future. The Ottawa Conference indeed sought to forecast this future when it dealt with the advisability of a Customs arrangement between Great Britain and her Colonies, by which trade within the Empire might be placed on a more favourable footing than that carried on with foreign countries. I believe that as time goes on this question will come into more prominence. I notice that the proprietors of an important organ of English opinion have offered a valuable prize for the best scheme for giving practical effect to this idea. When the stress of foreign competition increases here, while at the same time the markets of our dependencies are growing in importance, some form of union for the Empire will not appear to be as impracticable as to many it seems now. The action of foreign countries as they press the Tariff war, or rather Tariff attack—for there is no response from England—will push this question upon us, how little soever we may like it. It would take a longer time than I could venture to ask from you to consider this subject now. The great fact is this concentration which is daily accomplishing itself. What in the end it will bring us to, politically and commercially, may be hard to say. Growth in these matters is better than construction. Indeed, nothing is more striking than how men's relations grow of themselves—for better or worse—into the moulds that suit them, not only without, but often in spite of, written constitutions. Look at the government of the United States as it was designed and written down by Hamilton, Madison, Jefferson, and look at what, in fact, only a hundred years have made of it. Look at the English constitution as you find it in Blackstone and De Loone, and look at it as it is in fact. So with England and her Colonies events will be brought forth in her own way by the fertile future. Spontaneous movements take place, like this Canadian gathering. We are led by a way that we know not. As my late friend, Dr. C. H. Pearson—whose too early death I deplore, for few men had a brighter intellect, and none had nobler aims in life—as he shows in his last work, “National Life and Character,” the pathway of even the most eminent of political prophets is strewn with failures. What we can, however, see for certain is the progress of the Anglo-Saxon people through the world, stretching out over distant places, slowly perhaps but persistently, like the incoming tide, all-penetrating, ever-encroaching, silently accomplishing its mission of subduing the earth. In a century there will be hundreds of millions of our race in the United States, Canada, Australasia, and Africa. The

work is so great, and yet so quietly being done. It reminds us of the building of the Temple—

“No hammers fell, no ponderous axes rung ;  
Like some tall palm the stately fabrick sprung.”

In the presence of this noble prospect I pause. May we as a people prove equal to the destiny assigned to us, so that we may be looked back to with pride by that future race as it circles the globe ! Its favourable verdict will be worth having, for its judgment will be the judgment of a world, and its voice will be the voice of ages.

#### DISCUSSION.

The Right Hon. Lord BRASSEY, K.C.B. : I had hoped the Prime Minister of Canada would be the first speaker, but the pleasure of hearing him and others is, I trust, only deferred. The paper itself is a most interesting comment on the proceedings which recently took place at Ottawa, and, in addition, there has been made public in the last day or two a most important document relating to the same event—I mean, of course, Lord Jersey's report. There is one theme which is prominent in both papers—a theme that cannot but give the deepest gratification to all citizens of the old country. I allude to the fact that both make reference, in the most glowing terms, to the warm display of loyalty to the Mother Country exhibited at Ottawa. Lord Jersey says, and I think rightly, that this sense of unity, this desire for making closer the connection between the Mother Country and the Colonies, is a growing feeling on all sides. It was shown in many ways at Ottawa. It was shown in the moving address delivered by Sir John Thompson at the opening of the Conference. It was shown also by the desire expressed by all who attended the Conference that the negotiations between the Colonies and foreign powers should be conducted in the future, as in the past, through the agency of the Mother Country. Even in the matter of trade relations it was made apparent that the desire was strongly felt to make them an additional bond of union between the Colonies and the Mother Country. Sir H. Wrixon has told us that what we have to look to at the present time in connection with our Colonial and Imperial relations, is the improvement of our communications. It was shown that by the service through Canada as proposed, we might succeed in delivering our British Mails in Australia in the reduced time of twenty-eight days. If that result were accomplished, it would



be of great advantage for every purpose. The expenditure involved in carrying out that scheme was, I believe, something like £300,000 a year. Canada came forward with a generous offer of £175,000; from the Mother Country, the contribution asked was £75,000; and Australia was asked to contribute £50,000. What we, as a representative gathering of the old country, have to consider this evening is, Shall we use our influence to urge on the Home Government the favourable consideration of the proposal of the Ottawa Conference? Lord Jersey, I am glad to say, warmly supports the proposal, and shows that the subsidy asked for might be given with hardly any appreciable increase of the public charges, for by some re-apportionment of the amount actually voted for the conveyance of our mails to America, we might obtain a considerable instalment of the money that is wanted; and then he shows that the remainder might be provided by going forward upon lines which from every point of view are to be recommended—that is to say, by the Admiralty giving a subsidy for the retention of the vessels as armed cruisers. I earnestly commend these suggestions to the favourable consideration of Her Majesty's Government. Sir H. Wrixon has justly pointed to the important bearing of this question upon the development of trade. Now, I am confident that in proportion as we improve our communications with our Colonies, so our trade will flourish, and in the present condition of trade we must be satisfied that to open up new markets for our industries is of the highest importance. Let us, then, open new, and faster, and more frequent communications with our great Colonial markets. They are great and good markets now, and it is certain that at no distant time they will expand quite beyond any increase that we can at present contemplate.

The Right Hon. Sir JOHN THOMPSON, K.C.M.G.<sup>1</sup> (Prime Minister of Canada): I wish that the strength at my disposal this evening would enable me to express all that I feel in sympathy with the views of the Royal Colonial Institute, and in appreciation of the Paper which we have heard from Sir Henry Wrixon. The Ottawa Conference had for its primary and significant feature, as Sir Henry Wrixon has told you, the appreciation of the Home people, the people of the Dominion. It was impossible to have rivalled, impossible to have exceeded, the enthusiasm which was felt for the objects of that Conference even in the remotest parts of the country. A good deal has been said about meetings of that kind

<sup>1</sup> A most pathetic interest attaches to this speech; in less than twenty-four hours after its delivery, Sir John Thompson died in Windsor Castle, where he had gone to be sworn a Member of the Privy Council.



being characterised by a display of sentiment and an increase of sentimentality. For my part I look upon it as one of the great achievements of that Conference, one of its great justifications, that the sentiment of the people of Canada responded instinctively at the first mention of the preparations for the assembly. It was impossible to have exceeded the enthusiasm which was felt on the arrival of our fellow Colonists, and of Lord Jersey, the representative of Her Majesty's Government. It was felt by our people that in Australia, New Zealand, the Cape of Good Hope, millions of our fellow Colonists, interested as we were in the development of the Empire, interested as we were in the mutual trade of the Colonies, had been all these years without the slightest touch or approach to kinship, and it was felt that the moment had arrived when that state of things should be reversed, and an effort made to show the world we were a united people. As regards the results of the Conference, one of the great objects in view, apart from mere questions of Trade and trade arrangements, was, as Sir Henry Wrixon has expressed it, to avail ourselves of the opportunities presented by rapid communication, and by the lessening of distance and time in communicating with each other. One great object was to prepare for a Pacific cable. Already tenders have been called for by the Canadian Government for the laying of that cable, and it is a gratifying fact that these tenders place the cost of the work within \$1,000,000 less than any estimate that had been formed of the cost. One can judge by that fact of the probabilities of good results attending the Conference as regards that. It awaits in great part the action of Her Majesty's Government. The project is too great for any one Colony, but when I mention the fact that Canada is ready to aid the project by a liberal subsidy, that the Australian Colonies, I hope, stand in the same position, and that the cost has been lessened by \$1,000,000 below our expectations, you can realise how completely within our grasp the project is already. Another great object was the establishment of a British line of steam communication between North America and Great Britain. Within a few weeks of the meeting of the Conference, a vote was carried in the Canadian Parliament by which £150,000 a year was pledged for that service, and the feeling of the Canadian people has been so thoroughly aroused with regard to that project, from one end of the Dominion to the other, that although in some part it awaits the assisting hand of Her Majesty's Government, the accomplishment of that object is as certain as the accomplishment of any programme which

has been laid down, and which is completely within our control. The establishment of that service is a thing assured, and a thing assured within a very short time. These are results which have followed the assembling of the Conference so far. The possibilities with regard to trade between the Colonies, the Cape of Good Hope, Australia, and New Zealand, are very great. I have not the opportunity or the strength to dwell upon them this evening, but, in common with Lord Brassey, I venture to hope that the influence of this meeting, and the influence of all who sympathise with our project, will be liberally extended to us, and that the feeling shall be increased here as it exists in the more distant portions of the Empire, that the day has come, not only when the Colonies should be united more closely together, but when they can be made more practically useful in connection with the heart of the Empire itself.

Sir JOHN COLOMB, K.C.M.G. : I join in admiration of the eloquent way in which one aspect of the Conference has been placed before us ; but I have been struck with the fact that the lecturer appeals not so much to our heads as to our hearts. Well, I think the hearts of the British people are entirely right. In these days we all, of course, recognise the essential importance of our hearts making for national unity ; but if this unity is to be real, and is to be enduring, we must not ignore the faculties of the head, and as this Royal Colonial Institute is not a mere mutual-admiration society, but a society for the free and frank discussion of all matters relating to the welfare of the Empire, the meeting will pardon me if I look rather more at the practical side of the question. I am the more inclined to do so because one of the great advantages of this institution is that we have here the men who are the most competent to speak on Colonial questions, and I suppose that, in regard to this particular question, no one is more competent to give us information than the lecturer. Now I notice that he says, "that deliberations" (of the Conference) "have not been without result even so far, is shown by the fact that tenders for laying the Pacific cable have been already called for and received." Now I want to know how it is that tenders have been called for when a proposal by formal resolution was made to the Conference that the Canadian Government should get tenders for the cable, and that resolution was put and lost ? <sup>1</sup> On the same page of the paper the lecturer puts the population of the United Kingdom one hundred years ago at nine-and-a-half millions, and states that the revenue

<sup>1</sup> Vide p. 31, and also p. 173, *Proceedings of Conference, J.C.R.C.*

was fifteen and a half millions. Now that revenue was really twenty-seven millions. Thus, in one hundred years our revenue has only grown fourfold, while in the course of fifty years the revenue of the self-governing Colonies has risen from one million to forty-three millions. This is of importance, I think, as showing the ability of the Colonies to share the burden of empire. The lecturer says further on : " One plain duty, then, for the Empire is to assist in developing new and faster lines of communication." Everybody will agree with that ; but there is a responsibility which goes along with increasing the lines of communication, and that responsibility was well illustrated by a passage in Miss Shaw's lecture, in which she said that " the increase of the navy is the essential accompaniment of our maritime interests, and that to develop them, and defend them when developed, must be the conscious mutual effort of the Colonies and Great Britain." Here we have a proposition to open new lines of communication, but there is not one word about mutual effort to find the means of defending those lines when made. The lecturer goes on to ask : " How can England face the coming world of big nations with her thirty or forty millions here in these islands ? " I presume he means, how can she face the future without the self-governing Colonies ? Let us never forget that if the self-governing Colonies were to leave us, England would still have the greatest Empire in the world ; she would count her Empire's population by hundreds of millions, and count her Imperial revenue by over 150 millions ; nearly 200 millions. On the other hand, the self-governing Colonies would be waifs and strays on the face of the earth, at the mercy of any big nation. Therefore the word " separation," or all talk of separation from the practical, business, Colonial point of view, I take to be nonsense. On the subject of the proposed Customs arrangements, the lecturer, in a very able speech, moved the first trade resolution at the Conference. Is anyone here aware that that resolution, involving a revolution in the fiscal policy of the Empire, was discussed for only two-and-a-half hours, and subsequently the able representative of the Cape, Sir H. de Villiers, said he did not even know the resolution had been put,<sup>1</sup> and wanted it cancelled ?<sup>2</sup> Now let me come to the business aspects of this question. The lecturer will correct me if I am wrong. He said, speaking of the cable at the Conference, the Australian Colonies were " not very eager for it " on business grounds ; that the Australian Colonies were " very well as they are " ; that they " have a very good ser-

<sup>1</sup> Vide p. 82, *Proceedings of Conference, J.C.R.C.*

<sup>2</sup> Vide p. 83, *Proceedings of Conference, J.C.R.C.*



vice''; that it was a little expensive, but that that could be remedied.<sup>1</sup> I therefore gather, from his speech at the Conference, that from the business point of view the Australian Colonies are not so very eager for the cable: that is rather an important fact to remember. Then, as to the steamship service. The lecturer, I find, differs from Lord Brassey, because, as I gather from his speech at the Conference, he does not regard the steamship service in the light of a mercantile line for carrying produce. In spite of this he thinks it not unreasonable to ask the people of the United Kingdom to contribute towards it. He promised the sympathy of his Colony, but declined to pledge his Colony to pay for it. The reason, I think, is plain. He confines his paper to sentiment. On the ground of sentiment he is very hot for the cable and for the steamship service, but on the matter of business at the Conference he was rather lukewarm. He studiously avoids all reference to mutual effort for the defence of these things. He based his support of the cable, at the Conference, on grounds of strategy and defence, and went so far at the Conference as to rather throw cold water on the authority which he acknowledges to be high—that of the Hydrographer to the Navy. He told the Conference that if we don't make this cable the French will, and the Conference therefore asks the Imperial Government to acquire a foreign island as a "neutral landing place" for the cable, in order that the cable may remain "permanently under British control." Now, a place is neutral so long only as there is strength to enforce neutrality, and it will remain under your control only so long as you have strength to defend it, and the fact of saying it is neutral won't make it so. Is it supposed that the French are going to allow you to take one of the Hawaiian Islands for defensive purposes without protest? And does anyone suppose, knowing the past action of the American Government, that they, without trouble, will allow you? How is it that no discussion took place on that resolution—that no notice is taken in the full record of the proceedings, of the fourth resolution, which asks the British Government to acquire one of the Sandwich Islands? It is mentioned in the summary of the minutes, but not in the report; and I see in the place it should come in, Mr. Lee Smith calls attention to the fact of a surprise motion having been sprung. The whole question comes to this. The cable, no doubt, is a good thing, and the steamship service would be a good thing, but if you base your support of these schemes on defensive grounds, you must remember that the question is not an abstract one, but a question of the relative importance of things.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* p. 124, *Proceedings of Conference J.C.R.C.*



The question resolves itself into this. Is it better for the safety of Australia and Canada to sink these two or three millions in copper wire and gutta-percha at the bottom of the Pacific, or to put them in warships, and men, and guns? In the abstract everybody acknowledges the value of improved communication; but if you are going to take the money from the Navy Estimates to put it into a cable, you are wrong in the interests of Australia and Canada. Let us by all means co-operate with all parts of the Empire, but let it be co-operation for peace and for war, and when you talk of Imperial defence, don't treat it as an abstract question; and remember that war is not a matter of sentiment, and that the preparation for war is a matter of cold, deliberate calculation.

The Hon. THOMAS PLAYFORD : The lecturer has carefully avoided, except in general terms, touching upon what may be called debatable subjects, although the last speaker has rated him pretty soundly upon one or two points. I cordially agree with all the lecturer has said about the heartiness of our welcome. It was spontaneous, and was not a mere official welcome coming from the Ministers of the day. The welcome was shared in equally by the leaders of the Opposition, and by the people in all parts of the Dominion, and we came away with the most excellent impressions of our brethren in Canada. I think that one lesson we learnt in Canada was important. You know that for some years past a number of the leading men in Australia have endeavoured to bring about a Federation of the various Colonies. But there has been nothing to drive us into that Federation. Of course, while the debates on Federation were going on, we naturally turned to Canada for example, for she was one of the last States that had federated; and in drafting our Commonwealth Bill, we adopted many of the provisions of her Constitution. We never had the opportunity, however, or at all events so large a number of Australians never had the opportunity, of hearing what the people of Canada themselves said about their Federation after having given it a trial. But we who went there did get that opportunity, and we found this, which will be a source of strength to us when we go back, that never in the whole of our journeys through Canada did we meet with a single man, whether belonging to the Ministry of the day or the Opposition, whether he was a British Columbian at one end, or a Nova Scotian at the other, who was prepared to go back to the dis-united state they were in before Federation took place. I feel that is something gained, for I am strongly convinced that to speak to the Mother Country with effect, so far as money matters are concerned, we must be united.

If the whole of the debts of the Australian Colonies were put into one fund under one united Government, in which the whole of the Australian Continent was security for the payment of every penny of that debt, see what advantages we should gain. Instead of paying 6, 5, 4, or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. we should be able to do as well as Canada, and borrow at 3 per cent., if not lower. Now I have taken a note of the fact that our worthy lecturer indulged a little in sentiment. No doubt sentiment is a very good thing if it is a right and proper sentiment, but it is a dangerous thing if by sentiment we are led to undertake things we ought never to have undertaken. Witness the Panama Canal, and the Manchester Ship Canal. Therefore, in considering the subjects discussed at the Ottawa Conference, we must not be too much guided by sentiment when the question is the construction of any particular public work. The question ought to be, Is it going to pay you to construct it, or will the other contingent advantages be such as to warrant you in foregoing the difference between its being a paying concern and not? Therefore, in approaching these matters, the English and the Colonial Governments, when they are brought face to face with the question, What will you give? won't be guided by sentiment, whatever else they may be guided by, unless it can be pretty clearly shown that it is in the interests of the Empire, and for the defence of the Empire, that these matters ought to be undertaken. There is another point to be considered. I refer to the Pacific Mail and Cable. I would remind you that there is a cable to Australia already, constructed without a penny of subsidy; there is a subsidy now, but that was given in order to secure an extra line; and, by the way, what you have got to consider in connection with the Pacific route is that a single cable won't do at all. You must have a duplicate line. I would remind you further that the South Australian Government have expended a large sum for their land line across the continent. Following that out, it appears to me that if this proposed cable is for the good of the Empire, and is to be constructed out of public funds for that reason, the least that can be done is to see that those who have risked their money in the construction of lines which connect Australia with the whole of the civilised world, shall not suffer loss by the action of the Government. The last speaker alluded to the fact that the resolution instructing the Canadian Government to call for tenders was dropped at the Conference. I am not surprised that he should have called attention to the subsequent action of the Canadian Government. I might say that I was equally surprised; but no doubt we shall have some explanation of it. One word on

another subject of considerable importance. It is said the time is no doubt coming when Great Britain will give more favourable terms, so far as her Customs duties are concerned, to the produce from the Colonies than those extended to foreigners. We are told that cannot be done without altering your policy. I say you can do it to-day without altering your policy. Take the item of wine. Why should not Australian wines, wines grown in your own Colonies, come in at a somewhat lower duty than the wines from France and from Spain? You could commence that at once. We hear a good deal about the loyalty of the Colonies. It is, I believe, a deep and spontaneous loyalty. It may be kept, but you can only keep it on one condition; that is, if you make it worth our while to keep it. When the great American Colonies parted from the Mother Country, they parted with her because they were taxed by Great Britain against their will; because they were shown no favours, and because their trade and commerce were hampered in all directions. Their self-interest said that they would have to part company with the Mother Country if they were treated like that, and they did. We will never part with the Mother Country so long as the Mother Country treats us fairly, so long as the Mother Country treats us in such a way as we are willing to treat her in return; because we are not willing to ask her to give up some of her Customs duties in favour of our imports without doing the same for her. The only way to keep the Colonies, and in fact any countries, together, is to consider their common interests; and although sentiment may go a long way, sentiment falls and dies away, and pounds, shillings and pence rule in the long run.

Mr. JAMES HUDDART : Of course I was not a delegate at the Conference, but I had the honour of being invited by the Dominion Government to be at Ottawa simultaneously with the sitting of the Conference, to give information, and to render any assistance that might be in my power. Therefore I saw a good deal of the proceedings. I felt the delegates to the Conference were certainly making history—the history of the British Empire—and I can never forget in the Senate Chamber, so picturesquely situated at Ottawa, listening, at the opening of the Conference, to the eloquent addresses from Lord Aberdeen, Lord Jersey, and Sir John Thompson (speaking in passionate words on behalf of that great Dominion) and from other speakers. We must all admit that Sir John Colomb has at least given piquancy to this debate. It is always good to hear the other side. The point which presented itself most to my mind with regard to his speech, was the question of defence, wherein he hinted



that Australasians, Canadians, the people of the Cape of Good Hope, and generally the people living outside Great Britain, should contribute equitably to the defence of the Empire. It seemed to me that Sir John Colomb forgot (in connection with the proposed steamship service between Great Britain and Australasia through Canada) that we are not suggesting to ask the Imperial Government for one dollar on behalf of the Pacific service. We are asking the Imperial Government for a reasonable subsidy for the establishment of four royal mail steamships upon the Atlantic, which would cost some two millions sterling, to trade, not upon the Pacific, but between a port or ports in England and a port or ports in Canada. These steamships shall be built in the United Kingdom, at some of our great yards. They shall employ British sailors, and be officered by British officers, and they shall be armed to defend our commerce against pirates in time of war. Thus, they will not only defend themselves, but they will add to the defence of the Empire, inasmuch as they shall be so swift as to render it impossible for other than torpedo cruisers to overtake them; and these torpedo cruisers (I should think) could be sunk by the guns of the proposed steamships. Upon the Atlantic, therefore, the proposed steamships would earn every pound which they should receive from the British Government, both by carrying mails and by being at the disposal of the Admiralty. Alluding to the Pacific, it is sufficient to say that the Colonies of Australasia shall have to develop that division of the service, and not until those Colonies come forward with larger subsidies can the present monthly service be converted into either a four-weekly, a three-weekly, or a fortnightly service. But the point I wish to emphasise is—are the members of the outlying portions of the Empire prepared to pay for the privilege of living under the British flag? Having spent more than a generation in Australasia, I say, if I know anything of the people of that group of Colonies, that they are prepared to pay for the protection of the flag. The question has many sides, and it must be dealt with dispassionately. I have not seen that it has been put before the people of the Colonies constitutionally by the Imperial Government. The people of the Colonies are of the British race, and high-spirited, and unless the question is submitted to them in a proper way, they will be apt to do themselves injustice. The question has so many sides that it would form the subject for another Conference; and if Sir John Colomb and a few of our English friends would get into a Colonial atmosphere, if they would meet, say at Sydney, in the Mother Colony of New South Wales, to debate this question, and ascertain to what extent the Colonies of



the Empire might be asked to contribute to its defence, I believe they would not be disappointed. I say broadly, that no man is worthy of living under the British flag, if he is not prepared to face the cost of its defence. I do not at all agree with the last speaker as to the bond which unites the people of the Colonies with the Mother Country. It appears to me that the Colonies have at least as much to gain from holding on to the British flag as they have to gain from separation. What is the use of our talking about independence? British Colonists are the most independent people under the sun. What are we to gain by this so-called independence—what will it cost us? Will it not cost us (here I give myself away to Sir John Colomb) infinitely more to defend ourselves, if we are all independent, than if we remain under the existing state of things? Not to mention the name of any great Western Power, what is to prevent even Japan coming down upon Australia? On the point of Federation, one is struck with the fact that the Ottawa Conference could never have been brought about had it not been that Canada was a great Federated Dominion. I am entirely in agreement with Mr. Playford on the point of Federation. It will save our lives. On the question of sentiment, however, I cannot at all agree with what he said, nor can I agree with what Sir John Colomb said. When our case was before the New South Wales Government, for a subsidy in connection with the Canadian-Australian Mail Steamship service, a man opposed it on the question of pounds, shillings and pence; he said he wished to eliminate sentiment. Sir Henry Parkes said one word, which revealed him to us as having the instincts of greatness. He said in effect, "My friend affects to ignore sentiment, but sentiment has had much to do with the building-up of the British Empire, and I can conceive myself emptying the Treasury of the Government for sentiment!" I think sentiment is closely allied to patriotism. Are we to say that sentiment had nothing to do with the battle of Trafalgar? Men may affect to ignore sentiment, but there is no man living who is without it, and those who have the largest share of it are the men who have done most for the world.

MR. G. R. PARKIN M.A.: I had the privilege of watching the Ottawa Conference, being present in a business capacity, as a representative of the Press, and I therefore followed the proceedings closely. I had another reason for being interested in those proceedings, for I, like others, have dreamed dreams about Imperial Unity, and it seemed to me, when that meeting came about, we were, in a way, beginning to realise one, at least, of our dreams. The first thing that struck me about the Conference was its spontaneity. It was the

natural, spontaneous outcome of growing instincts and growing interests throughout the Empire. The advocates of national unity are often told that they have been forcing the subject beyond a natural pace. This Conference has proved that they were only dealing with a natural development. In working out this great idea of the unity of the Empire, one finds that there are two great forces against which we have to contend. Here in England it is parochialism—the difficulty of getting the ordinary man to look beyond the immediate conditions by which he is surrounded. In the Colonies it is the provincial spirit—a something which prevents the average man seeing the part which his Province must by necessity take in the affairs of the great world outside of themselves. Now we have got to fight these tendencies, and I therefore welcomed the Ottawa Conference for one reason—because of the insight which it gave to Englishmen of the growing forces that are coming into operation in every part of the Empire; and because, on the other hand, it must have opened the eyes of the people of the different Provinces more fully than before to the fact that there is a greater world beyond them. Nothing struck me more in the course of the Conference than one little spontaneous incident which illustrated the widening interest in Imperial affairs. A speaker in one of the greatest gatherings of the occasion, referred in a casual way to Mr. Cecil Rhodes as one of the men who were carrying on the great work of Empire-building, and for a minute or two he could not be further heard on account of the rush and storm of enthusiastic applause. I mention this because the Conference in many such incidental ways gave proof that a great Imperial feeling—a sense of Imperial responsibility and pride—is perfectly consistent with strong local patriotism, such as we know exists in Canada and Australia. Other things which impressed me very much, were the facility with which the Conference was brought together and the remarkable rapidity of communication. The delegates who came from the remote parts of the Empire, in several cases brought their families, so pleasant and easy were the means of travel. At Ottawa we had in the morning papers the leaders of the *Times* on the transactions of the evening before. In regard to the speech of Sir John Colomb, one cannot at this late hour reply to him in any detail. Let me mention what Lord Jersey said to me, as in part an answer: that nothing in the Conference struck him more than the extreme desire of the Colonial delegates, in their discussions, that nothing should be done to tie or hamper the hands of the Mother Country. I found that, even on the trade question, there was a constant refer-

ence to the fact that England had grown into a position from which it would be difficult to move her, and that they agreed that while the Colonies had a right to express their opinions, and should take such tentative steps as they thought proper to carry out their ideas, it should always be done with reference to the feelings and the necessities of the position of the Mother Country. Sir John Colomb has left the impression that the Colonies wished to get all they could out of the Mother Country. The observation led me to the conclusion that neither the Conference itself nor any delegate thought of asking the Mother Country for any subsidy, for which a *quid pro quo* would not be given to her. Take the cable, for instance ; we quite understand that the South Australian Government, which has spent half a million in building a telegraph across the continent, must take a certain view of the matter, and so must the Eastern Telegraph Company. But while these views must be considered, they should not interfere with national necessities. The discussion of the Conference strongly pointed to the view that not only was the safety of the Empire concerned in the scheme, but that the scheme was good from the commercial point of view, the cost of telegraphing—according to estimates since reduced by one million dollars—being probably one half what it now is. I ask is that nothing to a community like this, which has such great business connections with Australia ? Reference has been made to the Hydrographer for the Navy. Although speaking without the actual words to refer to, I have the strongest impression that that gentleman has expressed the view that it would be impossible, or practically impossible, to lay the cable across the Pacific ; but when we find that practical business men have tendered not merely to lay the cable, but to maintain it for a given number of years, the value of the Hydrographer's opinion is, I think, somewhat changed. I do not agree, myself, with Sir J. Colomb and Mr. Playford when they say that there was any breaking of faith or even any deviation from common sense or wisdom on the part of the Canadian Government in asking for tenders. Suppose they did break through the letter of the resolution—though even this I doubt exceedingly—what a world of light is thrown on the whole subject when we find that business men are willing to lay the cable for one million dollars less than was originally estimated and to maintain the work for a given period. This fact alone completely justifies the action of the Canadian Government. It is unfair to say the Colonies come to the Mother-land begging for something. When we consider the number of telegraph messages which pass between England and Australia, and the comparatively small number



between Canada and that Colony—in face of which fact Canada proposes to pay one-third of the expense of survey and construction—I think we are entitled to repudiate that charge, and to claim that Canada is impelled by a large Imperial spirit which makes her feel she is going to become a key-stone of the Empire. I entirely differ from Sir J. Colomb when he speaks lightly of the separation of Colonies, and I maintain we could not lose any one of our great Colonies without imperilling the whole national fabric. I agree with him in thinking that they must gradually come and take their fair share in defending the Empire ; but that involves the whole question of representation, which can only be reached slowly. In the meantime, let us utilise every available means of drawing them in to contribute to that defence indirectly, where great interests of their own are immediately served ; and when you are prepared to give the Colonies that representation which every man here demands before he is taxed, the Colonies will be ready to meet you. Meanwhile, the Ottawa Conference fully proved that the Colonies are able to consult and ready to act for the general good of the Empire.

The CHAIRMAN : I will now ask you to give a hearty vote of thanks to Sir H. Wrixon for his able and interesting description of the momentous Conference that recently took place at Ottawa. Those who have read the proceedings of that Conference know how much the honourable gentleman contributed to the very important discussions which were held. The present discussion has brought out a number of very interesting and very important facts for our consideration, and we owe a debt of gratitude to the Royal Colonial Institute for having given us another proof of how devoted this important Institution is to the development of everything that relates to the welfare of the Empire and especially of the Colonies. I need not remind you that when the Government of Canada appealed to the Government of this country to assist by a large subsidy to establish a line of steamship communication between Vancouver, Japan, and China, we met with the enthusiastic support of the Institute in approaching Her Majesty's Government, who, I am glad to say, responded in the same manner and spirit in which I feel assured they will at no distant date respond to the appeal now being made to them. On a recent occasion my colleagues and I, representing all the different self-governing Colonies, approached Her Majesty's Government on a very important question then engaging the attention of Parliament—the Finance Bill, and on that occasion our labours were greatly lightened by our being able to turn to an elaborate and able argument presented by the Royal



Colonial Institute—for which, I believe, we were largely indebted to a gentleman now on this platform—with the result that the Chancellor of the Exchequer modified the Bill so as to avoid imposing double Death Duties on the property in the Colonies of persons in England ; and I must also remind you that the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute promptly passed a resolution expressing the heartiest co-operation in support of the proposals of the recent Conference at Ottawa. Without detaining you further, I will ask you to join me in a hearty vote of thanks to the Hon. Sir Henry Wrixon, to whose paper we have listened with so much interest and satisfaction.

SIR HENRY WRIXON : I return to you my most hearty thanks for the resolution you have just passed, and I thank you also for the attention with which you listened to my paper. It assists a speaker very much when the audience listens to him. The discussion has been a most interesting one. It is the life-blood of discussion that there should be difference. It only surprised me that Sir John Colomb, who is a public man of experience, should seem to display some little anger in bringing forward his views. He is quite entitled to his own opinion, and need add no severity to his remarks. At the same time, we heard him with great pleasure. I myself do not agree with him. I have been engaged for two months in the business part of these discussions, which he, of course, has not contributed to. The results of those discussions are summarised in Lord Jersey's report ; and for me to have gone over them again would have been a mistake. It was better and wiser, I thought, to deal with the national and Imperial aspects of the question. If in this I have not secured the good opinion of Sir John Colomb, I will endeavour to survive it. There are one or two points to which I may allude. He said the Colonies want to be defended, but are not prepared to contribute. Is he aware we contribute to the Imperial Fleet kept in Pacific waters—that we give a large, and what the Imperial Government consider a satisfactory, contribution for the support of that fleet—that we do everything asked of us by the Imperial Government for Colonial defence ? If so, his taunt that we were talking merely sentimentally is hardly justified. Another thing : he remarked that I proposed a trade resolution that would have revolutionised the trade of Great Britain. He is in error : the resolution I proposed was to give to the Australian Colonies the right of making Customs arrangements with other Colonies. That had nothing to do with the trade of Great Britain, and is not what Sir John Colomb was thinking of : a man may be eminent without

being accurate. There is another point in which he has fallen into error. He condemned the Conference, and me by implication, in the matter of calling for tenders for the cable. It is quite true the particular motion to which he alludes was not carried, for reasons that were thought sufficient, but a resolution was unanimously carried requesting the Canadian Government to make all necessary inquiries, and generally to take such steps as might be expedient in order to ascertain the cost of the proposed Pacific Cable, and to promote the establishment of the undertaking in accordance with the views expressed by the Conference. However, these are small points, and we are all much obliged to Sir John Colomb for his criticism. In conclusion, I propose we give a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding.

This was done, and the Meeting separated.

An afternoon meeting was held in the Library of the Institute on Tuesday, December 18, 1894, at 4.30 P.M., Sir ROBERT G. W. HERBERT, G.C.B., a member of the Council, in the Chair, when Mr. T. E. Mavrogordato, of Cyprus, read a paper on

### CYPRUS AND ITS RESOURCES.<sup>1</sup>

It is with a feeling of a certain amount of reluctance that I venture to address you on the subject of my paper to-day, particularly as Cyprus is not as popular as it should be, and it appears to be but little known to the majority of the British public. The object of this Institute is to diffuse knowledge about the territories governed by the British Crown, and as one of your members, I will attempt to assist towards that object, even to the limited extent in my power, and with that view I submit to your kind indulgence in addressing you. I do not propose to speak of the administration in detail or of the politics connected with Cyprus; but I will give you an outline of the circumstances leading to the adoption of the island by the British Government, the effect thereof, and the possibilities of using it as a field for industrial and commercial enterprise. Also, a short geographical description may be of interest to you.

Cyprus is situated at the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean, and lies about 250 miles north of Port Said, and at a distance of forty-five and sixty miles respectively from the Karamanian and Syrian coasts. It has an area of 3,723 square miles, with a population of 210,000 inhabitants. The island practically consists of two large mountain ranges, one to the north and the other to the south, with a large plain of unusual fertility between them. This peculiar formation provides a great variety of scenery and climate, which considerably adds to the value and attractions of the island. The northern range rises to the height of 3,340 feet, and the highest point of the southern one, which is the largest, is that of Mount Troodos, which is 6,590 feet above the level of the sea. These mountains were formerly covered with extensive and rich forest, which were partly destroyed during the time of the Turkish administration, but happily a large portion of forest still remains, and has been considerably improved under the fostering care of the British Government. The temperature in the plains varies considerably, and would be from 30° to 70° during the winter months, and from 80° to 100° during those of the summer. I have known it to

<sup>1</sup> Printed in full by direction of the Council, no Paper on Cyprus having previously been included in the "Proceedings."



register as high as  $114^{\circ}$  in the shade in the month of August, but anything above  $100^{\circ}$  is uncommon. The rainfall is uncertain, and varies from ten to twenty-five inches, and it rarely rains between the months of May and October. There are no permanent rivers in the island, but there are numerous river beds which, during the winter months, serve to carry the mountain torrents to the sea, the largest of these being the Pídias, which, like the others, is valuable for irrigation purposes. As an agricultural country, Cyprus is of considerable value, and it is also a good stock-producing colony. The principal products are: wheat, barley, oats, cotton, vetches, sesame, linseed, olives, grapes, caroubs (better known as locust beans), lemons, oranges; and the mulberry tree is also extensively cultivated for the silkworm industry.

The principal ports of call are at Larnaca and Limassol, but these are practically open roadsteads, and the natural harbour of Famagusta, on the east coast, might develop into one of vast political importance if the situation ever demands it. For administrative purposes, Cyprus is divided into six districts: those of Nicosia, Famagusta, Larnaca, Limassol and Papho, which are respectively named after the chief town in each. Nicosia is the capital, and is situated in the centre of the island, at a distance of twenty-six miles from the port of Larnaca.

#### BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND ITS EFFECT IN CYPRUS.

It is needless to recapitulate the reasons for which the British Government occupied the island of Cyprus, but it is necessary to recall the fact that this occurred in June 1878, at the time that an invasion of Asia Minor was threatened by Russia. So sudden was the occupation that even the Turkish authorities in the island were ignorant of the fact until after the arrival of the British fleet at Larnaca. It was purely a matter of taking over the administration from the Turkish authorities, which was effected in a most peaceful manner. It must be borne in mind, however, that the suddenness of this transaction rendered the task entrusted to those of administering the Government under the new *régime* one of immense difficulty. British officers were placed in charge of departments and districts of which they knew nothing. They could not get into communication with the inhabitants and Turkish officials, not knowing the language, and the scarcity of qualified interpreters rendered the situation one of great difficulty. There was no time to be lost, and the new Government had to introduce reform and justice, as



rapidly as it had to expel injustice and corruption. The change was accomplished with marvellous tact, when we consider that the population consisted of Christians and Moslems in the proportion of three to one respectively, of which the minority was ruling with despotic power ; and there was no trouble when all were placed on an equality under the British Government. It was due to the administrative ability of Lord Wolseley that this was so successfully accomplished.

It would not be in my province to say any more about the administration of Cyprus, but it is of importance that I should point out what benefits have accrued to the island since the British occupation. The Christian population hailed the advent of the British flag with relief and gratitude ; they parted with the yoke of their former rulers with ecstasies of delight, and the villagers even to-day give daily proof to the casual traveller of their gratitude and affection to the British Government. My calling in Cyprus has brought me for the past fourteen years into close communication with the rural population of the island, and I have frequently listened to their tales of the past. Things have changed now completely ; justice and equity have been established, and the feeling of public security has been inspired by a just Government.

Carriage roads, which did not exist before, have been made throughout the island, connecting all the important centres ; a healthy impetus has been given to trade and commerce, and the prosperity of the inhabitants has materially increased. The agricultural industry has expanded, and the value of the imports and exports has more than doubled since the occupation of 1878. In the year 1892 the imports and exports amounted to £369,974 and £338,959 respectively, and that is with the trade practically in native hands. The Government is paying serious attention to the education of the rising generation, and there are 350 schools in the island, at which 15,000 pupils are being taught. A great improvement has also taken place in the towns, where large and comfortable houses have been built, streets improved and lighted at night, and the laws of sanitation enforced. Most of the towns have been embellished by extensive tree-planting, especially Nicosia and Kyrenia, where long and shady avenues provide a welcome refuge from the rays of the summer sun. The time at my disposal will not admit of my enumerating all the improvements that have taken place, but I will describe one of the greatest evils which formerly threatened a serious calamity to the inhabitants, and which, thanks to the Government, has been eradicated : I refer to the

## LOCUST CAMPAIGN.

Cyprus has suffered from the ravages of the locusts for centuries past, and the scourge inflicted upon the inhabitants has frequently reduced them to famine. During the Turkish tenure of the island the inhabitants were forced to destroy a certain quantity of locusts by a system of *corvée*, or forced labour, but this had little effect towards the complete annihilation of the insect. At last, in 1862, the late Mr. Richard Mattei, C.M.G., an Italian gentleman by descent, and a large landowner in Cyprus, invented the system of screens and traps, and he managed to persuade Said Pasha, who was at the time Turkish Governor, to try them. Said Pasha, who was an intelligent and energetic officer, gave the screen system a fair trial, and soon discovered the value of the invention, which he adopted, and he actively prosecuted a campaign. He only had a small supply of screens and traps at his disposal, but he had no difficulty in obtaining an unlimited amount of labour, and after a few years of energetic action, the locusts were successfully nearly exterminated in 1870, when high premiums were paid by the Government for living specimens of the insect. Shortly after this successful campaign, Said Pasha left Cyprus, and his successor paid no heed to the locust question, with the result that, after a year or so, locusts were reported to have reappeared, and in 1875 their presence was again begun to be felt. This went on unheeded by the Turkish authorities till 1878, when Cyprus was handed over to the British Government. The first attempt after the occupation to destroy locusts was made in the Famagusta district in the spring of 1879, when screens and traps were provided, and in the autumn of the same year  $37\frac{1}{2}$  tons of eggs were collected and destroyed. In spite of this, the spring of 1880 brought larger swarms, of which some were destroyed by screens and traps, and during the autumn 236 tons of eggs were collected. The result was again discouraging to the Government, as the numbers of locusts in 1881 had largely increased and were causing serious damage to agriculture. During that autumn and winter, eggs were again collected on an enormous scale, and no less than 1,330 tons of locust eggs were destroyed, at a cost of £12,262. Preparations were then made for providing an adequate number of screens and traps, and 6,030 screens of fifty yards each were used in the spring of 1882, and during that year it was found that the rapid increase of the swarms was arrested, and although the locusts were more numerous in the year 1883, the increase was in a far smaller ratio. The number of screens was

increased to 8,223 in 1883, and the destruction during that year was enormous. In the year 1884 the screens were increased to 11,083, and 13,000 traps were in use. To give an idea of the total length of the screens used in that year, if stretched continuously, they would form a line 315 miles in length. Since 1883 the locusts began to succumb to the powerful war waged against them, and gradually decreased in numbers every year; they were got under control, and little damage was done to the crops.

I will attempt to illustrate the natural course of a locust plague, in order that you may appreciate the plan of campaign. It is hardly necessary to remind you that the locust is a species of grasshopper, and grows to about two inches in length, and is of a brown colour. These destructive insects are generally to be found in swarms, and they increase in numbers at the rate of about fifty to one every year. The female locusts lay their eggs in the month of May, June, and July, after which they die. The eggs are hatched as the earth gets warm towards the end of February or beginning of March. The female locust forms a cocoon in the ground which it fills with eggs, giving an average of about thirty-two eggs in each cocoon, and it cannot be said how many cocoons are formed by one insect each year; some experts say two, and others assert three.

There is no doubt that the locusts are guided by instinct with regard to the selection of their breeding grounds, which are generally to be found in those localities where the eggs are least likely to be disturbed. As a rule, the egg deposits are to be found in shallow, open ground, generally rocky, with a few inches of earth on the surface. When the eggs are hatched, the breeding ground is covered with a dense mass of insects, which are not much larger than an ordinary ant. They cluster together at first, probably to get warm, and rapidly grow in size, basking in the sun. As soon as they can move about, they begin to eat grass, and gradually grow till they can creep away in search of food. This living mass of insects eventually marches into a field of corn or other green produce, and every blade in that field gets rapidly covered with insects, which remain there until the whole crop has been consumed. By this time the swarm begins to thrive, and after having devastated one field it marches on to another, and so on, until the insect has grown to its full size and takes to its wings, which afford it a more rapid means of progress.

The destruction to cultivation by flying locusts is terrible, and wherever the swarm settles, a complete annihilation of produce

takes place. I have seen several acres of orange and lemon gardens laid completely bare, without a single leaf being left, by a swarm that settled there at sunset and left again at sunrise. I have also watched a locust swarm flying past my window from 9 A.M. continually till 5 P.M., flying, I should say, at about the rate of six miles an hour. I can remember a locust plague when everything you saw or touched was covered with locusts. My house was full of them, the clothes were full of them, and it is not a pleasant sensation to feel them creeping up your arms when you put on a coat or other garment. I have had them in bed, and my bath was full of them. It is necessary to wear glasses when riding, to avoid them flying into your eyes; but the most objectionable part of a plague is the offensive smell caused by the dead insects, which cover the ground in millions.

Experience, however, has taught us how to combat the evil, and the success in Cyprus, where a regular campaign has been carried on since 1879, and still continues, is a living proof of the possibility of preventing this destructive element. The two essential things required are, a liberal supply of screens and traps, and a keen survey of the movements of the flying swarms, which clearly indicate the situation of the breeding grounds. A map should exist showing all the egg deposits marked thereon, and with the assistance of the map, the campaign can be directed perfectly. Depôts of screens and other materials required are established in the various divisions of the country, and labourers and overseers are appointed according to their requirements. The breeding grounds are watched in the spring, and as soon as it is discovered that the eggs are beginning to hatch, screens and traps are requisitioned and sent at once to the locality, and fixed so as to confine the swarm to a limited area. The screens are made of the coarsest canvas, such as is used for common sacking. They are cut in lengths of 50 yards each, and they are about 2 feet 9 inches high. They can be joined together, so that any required length can be obtained. They are topped with a band of oilcloth, which prevents the locust creeping over them. The screens are fixed by means of wooden stakes, which are driven into the ground at given intervals, along which they are stretched and fixed with tapes. They can be put up very quickly, and are as easily removed and transported from one locality to another. Pits are dug transversely to the screens at intervals of about 30 or 40 yards; they are 5 feet long by 2 feet 6 inches wide, and 3 feet deep, the bottom section being larger than the top, and are bordered with zinc, which covers a wooden frame, and which is fixed on the



mouth of the pit. This zinc frame, which is commonly called a trap, prevents the locusts creeping out of the pits.

When the locust swarms approach the screen they are impeded in their progress, and the effect of a screen can best be compared with that of a dam set against a flowing stream. The swarm will not change the direction of its march, but will try to get over the impediment. The result is that the swarm practically flows into the pits when it is a large one, and when the locusts are scattered they are driven into them. The pits are covered with earth as soon as they are filled. The length of screens, number of pits and labourers, of course depends on the size of the swarm. In the event of an unexpected swarm found marching anywhere, screens are at once despatched to the locality, and its progress stopped. I have seen swarms of enormous quantities of locusts, of which the length could be measured by miles, and in such cases one line of screens would be ineffectual towards stopping its progress, as the quantity of insects would rise to the top of the screen in a living mass, thus affording a support to the swarm to march over it. In that case, it would be necessary to put up another line of screens parallel to the first, a few hundred yards farther away, and if a second line does not suffice, the process has to be continued until the progress of the swarm is stopped. I have known as many as five separate lines of screens being required to stop a swarm, and on that occasion the horse I was riding was knee-deep in a river of living locusts. Once the locusts take to their wings, little can be done to destroy them, and then it is necessary to postpone the campaign till the next year, taking meanwhile careful note of their movements, in order to ascertain the localities they select for their breeding grounds. By means of the screen and pit system, Cyprus has been saved from the ravages of the locusts, and since 1884 no appreciable damage was done, and since 1887 no damage whatever has taken place.

You will remember my having said that in 1881 £12,000 were spent in the purchase of eggs. This practice was discontinued after that year, as it was found that it would be more economical to use the money available for buying eggs towards increasing the number of screens, and it has been proved that the destruction of living locusts has been more effective, as little depends on the size of the swarm. After the year 1884 the operations of the campaign greatly diminished, as the numbers of the swarms had greatly decreased, and those that did appear were small and scanty. Large numbers of insects have been burnt by means of brushwood on the breeding grounds before they were big enough to travel, and the gradual decrease has been so marked that last year, for the first time, screens were not used

at all. A high price was offered by the Government for locusts by weight, and the peasants eagerly collected every insect they could find as soon as the eggs were hatched, the breeding grounds of course being known, and as the price paid decreased proportionately with the growth of the insects, they lost no time in collecting as many as they could. Up to 1886 the Government spent £67,000, and the cost during the several years was as follows:—

Up to June 1881 . . .	£5,739	During 1884 . . .	£12,729
During 1882 . . .	£32,475	„ 1885 . . .	£3,387
„ 1883 . . .	£12,511	Gradually decreasing till 1887 . . .	£2,855

Since then the cost has remained at a small figure, and it will be necessary to provide a small sum every year henceforward towards keeping the growth of the insects under control.

Cyprus stands as a unique example in the world with regard to the successful locust campaign, and the amount spent would be insignificant if compared to the value of the destruction that would have otherwise taken place. Full particulars of the locust campaign can be obtained by referring to a pamphlet written by the late Mr. Samuel Brown, C.E., who held the appointment of Government Engineer in Cyprus, and under whose able directions the campaign was successfully carried out.

#### THE VALUE OF CYPRUS AS AN AGRICULTURAL COUNTRY.

In ancient times the fertility of the soil in Cyprus was proverbial; it has been described by ancient and modern historians, and remains the same to-day. The native farmer is not alive to the value of his surroundings; he cultivates the land in the most primitive manner. A wooden plough and a wooden threshing-board studded with pieces of flint are his only implements, and although his plough does not penetrate more than about six inches into the soil, there are fields which will return his seed thirty- or forty-fold. It is estimated that only about one-fifth of the land in Cyprus is brought yearly under culture.

I will enumerate the most important articles of produce below, giving the quantities for the year 1892:—

Wheat . . .	1,385,787 bushels	Sesame . . .	95,354 bushels
Barley . . .	1,869,660 „	Olives . . .	730 tons
Oats . . .	193,321 „	Caroubs . . .	29,000 „
Cotton . . .	1,000 tons	Grapes . . .	22,783 „
Vetches . . .	76,490 bushels		

In 1884 1,500,000 gallons of wine were exported. In addition there is an extensive cultivation of orange and lemon trees, for which the soil in Cyprus is particularly well suited, and the fruit is large and

delicious in flavour. An exportation of lemons and oranges takes place every year to the markets of Austria. The mulberry tree is extensively grown for the silkworm industry, and the silk produced in Cyprus is remarkable for its strength, and is well suited for the use of gold and silver lace manufacturers. About six pounds of cocoons will yield one pound of pure silk thread. The grapes of Cyprus are of an excellent quality and are cheap, and good, sound wine is made in the island. The caroub, or locust bean, is largely exported to England, where it is used for cattle food. In 1884 30,000 tons were exported. The cotton is of good quality, and is considered to be next to the best Egyptian. It has been found that American seed, which was imported recently, answers well in the island. 1,400,000 lb. were exported in 1884. In addition to the above-mentioned products, there is a large cultivation of vegetables and fruit trees, such as apricots, pears, quinces, plums, and almonds. Apricots and water-melons and tomatoes are exceptionally good, and pomegranates, which are of a very fine quality, are largely exported to Egypt. The native farmer is very conservative in his methods, and he is entirely dependent on the goodwill of Nature for his produce; and if advised as to means of improvement which he might adopt, he will generally say that he is contented to continue the practice of his forefathers.

You will gather from what I have said that Cyprus has an agricultural element of no mean value, and that there is a great field for improvement in the island. I believe that a few farms in the island worked by British farmers with modern implements and good seed would be a profitable investment. I may here add that good Cyprus barley is sought for for the requirements of breweries. For persons with limited capital who desire to live out of England, and still be within reasonable distance of home and friends, I would say, go to Cyprus. Go and see for yourselves, which so few of you have done. I have not yet met with a Britisher who has been to Cyprus and who has not regretted the day that he has had to leave it.

But to return to the agricultural question. I desire to point out to you that Cyprus is a good stock-breeding country, and is handily situated for supplying the markets of Egypt. The estimate of the number of animals in the island would be as follows:—

Horned cattle	48,600
Horses, mules and donkeys	57,000
Camels	1,200
Sheep	253,300
Goats	254,500
Pigs	40,000

and a large stock of good poultry, the turkeys being particularly fine. Dairy farming, which is at present unknown, would pay well. The natives do not use milk, and the peasants never milk their cows. The sheep and goats are milked for the purpose of making native cheeses, which are very good. Condensed milk and tinned butter are the only articles procurable in the market, and the demand for them is daily increasing.

There are large tracts of land suitable for vineyards ; the silk industry is in its infancy ; and fortunes could be made out of lemons. I believe that the important cultivation of figs and currants, which is carried on so successfully in Smyrna and Greece, could be introduced into Cyprus if only somebody would take the trouble to do so. The good quality of the honey to be found in the island is proverbial. In former years madder was extensively cultivated, but the European demand having stopped, it has fallen out of use. The best Turkish tobacco might be grown in the island, but an old-standing law prohibits the free cultivation thereof. The cork tree should also be introduced, and I believe that sisal would also find a suitable home there.

#### INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL POSSIBILITIES.

One of the principal elements of nature which commands the prosperity of Cyprus to a great extent is water. In some parts of the island where the fields cannot be irrigated, the crops depend entirely on rain. I am happy to say that droughts have been rare since the British occupation, and every year appears to bring more rain, which is attributed to the growth of the forests. Last month a flood took place at Limassol and caused partial destruction of the town and the death of twenty-one persons. The same disaster happened at Limassol in 1882, and the cause of the flood is heavy rain in the mountains, the torrents overflowing the banks of the river-bed. If that volume of water had been dispersed over the Mersina plain, it would have been of considerable service to the farmers, whereas at Limassol it flowed direct into the sea after devastating the town. There is a great deal of water under the surface, and there are numerous powerful water sources flowing down the mountain sides. The natives are very clever at constructing aqueducts and sinking wells, and water is often carried for long distances by a chain of wells connected with each other by an underground channel. There is money to be made out of water in Cyprus, and I would like to see artesian wells introduced. I believe that if artesian wells were sunk in the Messaria plain, that land



would be the centre of attraction in the Mediterranean. What is now used exclusively for the cultivation of corn and cotton would, if water was brought to the surface, soon be changed into a forest of olive, lemon, mulberry and other trees.

There are no railways in Cyprus ; gas, electric light and telephones are unknown ; and the only luxury used for lighting purposes is petroleum. These might be profitably introduced. There is only one bank in the island, the Imperial Ottoman Bank, whose terms are, however, too severe to be convenient to the agricultural element, which is now practically at the mercy of usurers, who abound in the island under the name of merchants. I believe that a bank established for the purpose of assisting farmers would reap substantial benefits. There is an extensive local trade and industry. The bazaars contain every article of European manufacture ; there are large native tanneries, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, weavers, tailors, shoemakers, and very clever gold- and silversmiths. The pottery industry is carried on in several parts of the island. The clay found is of a good quality, and daily discoveries of antique specimens of pottery, dating from the time of the Phœnicians downwards, indicate that the industry has been uninterruptedly continued for centuries. In the island a large number of articles of domestic utility are made, and numbers of water chatties are exported to Egypt and Syria. The art of glazing pottery, however, is unknown, and if introduced, would be of great value, as Cyprus could then take part in the supply of glazed pottery to the Levant, as Marseilles and Trieste are doing now. Tiles could also be manufactured for use in the island and adjacent countries. All the natives wear boots, and in addition to the shoes required for local use, large numbers are exported to Turkey.

There are two large salt lakes near Larnaca and Limassol, in which the supply of salt is unlimited. These lakes are the property of the Government, and as the importation of salt into Turkey is prohibited, only so much salt as is required for use in the island is collected. An unlimited supply, however, might be obtained for exportation to other parts of the world.

The sponges round Cyprus are worth about £80,000 a year, and are fished for by Greeks who come from the Archipelago. They are to be seen on the Cyprus coast every year in their picturesque little boats. They are experts at the trade, and they get the sponges by diving and dredging ; and the only benefit the Cyprus treasury derives from the sponges is the fee paid for the fishing license, which is very small. There, again, the Cypriotes show no signs of advancement. The natives of the coast towns make very good and

plucky sailors, and although they have since their birth watched the valuable sponges being carried away from their shores, they have not had the sense to start the trade for themselves.

The circumference of Cyprus is between 400 and 500 miles, and the sponges grow all round, but under the present arrangements little or no protection is afforded to the sponge beds, which would improve rapidly if properly conserved. This might be effected by dividing the coast-line into sections, and regulating the fishing in such a manner as to give each section time to replenish its bed before being attacked again. By a law passed in 1890 power was given to the High Commissioners of Cyprus to grant exclusive privileges for fishing the coast for sponges. A sponge company was attempted to be floated some time ago by the managers of the Cyprus Company, who, with the exception of the Eastern Telegraph Company, are the only English company in Cyprus, and who have established a first-class wine factory in the island with excellent results. These gentlemen are, I am told, looking forward to large profits, and it is not impossible that they may get them. I do not know how far the negotiations of the attempted sponge company have proceeded, and I have heard nothing of it for some time past; but I do not think that it has been floated. In the event of a sponge fishing company being formed, it would require a small fleet, which would cover its cost and make a profit besides by the coasting trade of the island, in which it could be usefully employed.

Limestone and gypsum are plentifully to be found in Cyprus, and considering that there is no stone or lime in Egypt, where it is badly required, a lime and gypsum factory coupled with stone quarries, under proper supervision and management, would be a good investment. Sandstone might be profitably exported, and could be quarried within a few yards from the shore. Stone and gypsum command good prices in the Egyptian market. A speculative boring company might find a useful field for operation in Cyprus. Cyprus was celebrated in ancient times for its silver and copper mines, and mounds of scorïæ still indicate their sites. Asbestos is to be found, and alum has also been discovered.

The situation of Cyprus is favourable to its commercial development on account of its close proximity to the Karamanian and Syrian coasts. The interior of Asia Minor is daily growing in importance, and the Ottoman Government has at last seen the necessity of building railways through that important and valuable territory, and a large traffic may be expected to develop between Egypt, Syria and Mersina Gulf. In that case Cyprus would be the half-way

house, and might provide the means of transport. We have seen the British flag extending eastward in the Mediterranean as far as Cyprus; but is that to be the last place? The interior of Asia Minor does not yet know what Manchester goods are, except in very limited quantities; and why should not Cyprus represent Manchester to her clients instead of Beyruth, where already extensive preparations are being made by the French to monopolise the Asia trade?

I will now refer to the ABILITY of Cyprus as a

#### HEALTH RESORT.

The general opinion in Great Britain is that the climate of Cyprus is insalubrious, and that opinion was established when an epidemic of fever told so severely on the army of occupation in the summer of 1878. It was unfortunate that the troops arrived in the summer, and that they had to camp in the plains with no other shelter from the scorching rays of the sun than tents. It is impossible to conceive anything more oppressive than to live in a tent in the hot sun. The malarial miasma which rises out of the ground at night filled the tents, with the disastrous results too well known to you. The troops were afterwards removed to Mount Troodos during the hot months, and of late years the station in Cyprus was declared to be the healthiest military station abroad. The station on Mount Troodos was selected for those regiments that returned from Suakim at the close of the Egyptian war, and so invigorating was the climate that the soldiers, who were in a very enfeebled condition, were restored to perfect vigour and health after a few weeks' residence on the mountain.

With the exception of the hot months of July, August and September, living in the plains is pleasant, and during the summer the life on the mountains is delightful. The winter is very mild and exhilarating. Cyprus provides a suitable climate for persons suffering from chest diseases, asthma and throat complaints, and consumptive patients would probably enjoy a longer life there than in any part of Europe. I cannot recall a single death of an adult of the British community since 1880 from Cyprus fever; there have been solitary cases of typhoid, which you run more risk of getting in England than in Cyprus. I know several English ladies who have lived for years in the island and who do not know what fever is. The sun practically shines throughout the winter days, with but few exceptions on rainy days. The country affords every facility for riding and driving, and for those who love sport there is

an abundance of small game, such as hares, partridges, woodcock, quail, snipe, duck, francolin and other birds. The rides along the north coast, and through the wild country between Mount Troodos and Papho, are lovely and exhilarating, and the Limassol district and the Carpas provide many beautiful excursions. The north coast of Cyprus reminds one of the Riviera, and lies in the same latitude as Algiers, and the mountains and forests on the Papho side recall the scenery of parts of the Tyrol.

Living in Cyprus is very cheap, and the expense of keeping horses is small compared with other places. It is possible to live in luxury, and the resident is surrounded by a pleasant and hospitable social circle. I know some English people living in Cyprus whose health does not permit them to live in England, and they are perfectly happy and contented.

For the artist Cyprus provides a variety of scenery. He can choose between mountains and sea, forests, shrubs, flowers or plains, and the graceful palm will always add to the picturesque appearance of the towns and villages, enlivened by quaint and gaudily dressed natives. A perfect collection of mediæval architecture is to be found, and beautiful Gothic buildings exist in various parts of the island as a proof of past grandeur.

#### CONCLUSION.

The antiquity of Cyprus adds to its other interesting qualities; and it is first mentioned in the book of Genesis, under the name of "Kittim." It belonged to an Egyptian ruler B.C. 1600; it subsequently was governed by the kings of Assyria and Persia, having reverted at intervals to Egypt. Ptolemy added the island to his dominions, and at the time of our Lord it was part of the Roman Empire. The apostle Barnabas was born in the island, and, in company with St. Paul, he visited his native land and established the Gospel. His grave may now be found in the island, and the tomb of St. Lazarus may be seen at Larnaca.

Richard Cœur de Lion conquered Cyprus in A.D. 1191, and was married at Limassol to Berengaria of Navarre, and it is interesting to note that the Archbishop of York at the time placed the English crown on the head of the princess. The order of the Knights of St. John established their headquarters in the island, and their old chapter-house is still in good preservation in Nicosia. The island then passed to the House of Lusignan, and was eventually sold by Catherine, widow of the last Lusignan king, to the Venetian Republic in A.D. 1489. In 1571, Cyprus was conquered by the



Turks, when it was hurled to the ground from its lofty pedestal ; and it remained part of Turkey till 1878, when a new era dawned on the historic island with the British flag. Cyprus abounds in antiquities belonging to the various periods of its history, and is a rich hunting-ground for the archæologist. The inhabitants of the island are descendants of great races, and the civilisation of past centuries is still stamped on the race, and under the present Government the rapid advancement in the moral development of the inhabitants is certain, and is already visible. The Cypriotes are a very intelligent race of people, but have been hounded by their tyrannical rulers to serfdom, under which they have existed for three centuries, losing all their self-dependence. They are loyal to their present Government, and docile in their habits.

Cyprus is a self-supporting Colony, and its revenue has risen to nearly £200,000, although it varies generally from £160,000 to £190,000. It has to pay a tribute to Turkey of £92,000, which considerably retards the progress of public works. Last year, for the first time since 1878, no grant in aid was required from Parliament. Nominally, Cyprus still forms part of the Turkish Empire, and it is frequently urged that, under the circumstances, British capitalists will not invest money in the island. It is not for me to say whether Great Britain will ever give up Cyprus. I believe, however, if you wish to profit by the island, you should take advantage of the present circumstances to invest money there, and the more British money settled there, the safer will it be within your keeping. Egypt does not belong to England, but the millions of British money invested there appear to be safe enough. Your Manchester spinners are actually going to erect large mills on the borders of the Nile to save the carriage of the raw cotton across the sea to their own manufacturing town, and they don't appear to fear losing any money in the undertaking.

Cyprus is not unknown to the librarian, and many valuable books have been written treating of the island. Mr. Cobham, the Commissioner of Larnaca, has written a most interesting pamphlet called "An Attempt at a Bibliography of Cyprus," which gives a complete list of books about the island, the first quoted being that of Piccolomini, which was published in 1477. The pamphlet referred to is to be found in this library, and I can recommend you to consult it. Popular books, written since 1878, are those of Sir Samuel Baker, Mr. Hamilton Lang, Mr. Scott-Stevenson, the late Lady Brassey, Miss Agnes Smith, Mr. W. H. Mallock, and Mrs. Lewis, whose book was only recently published. These writers are

all in unison in praising the virtues of Cyprus, and their impressions would be a valuable guide to those who would contemplate going there.

On first landing at Larnaca one gets a dreary impression, and it is most unfortunate that the principal landing-place should be situated in the most barren part. A short journey, however, from that town will soon change the first impressions. I fully endorse the words of Mr. Mallock, which are, "To those who despair of ever being happy in life, to such I would say 'Try breathing the air of Cyprus!'"

A discussion followed, in which Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., Mr. Robert Fisher (late Commissioner of Kyrenia), Mr. Charles Christian (of Cyprus), Mr. F. P. de Labilliere, Lieut.-General R. W. Lowry, C.B., and the Chairman took part; and votes of thanks to the Reader of the Paper and the Chairman concluded the proceedings.

### THIRD ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Third Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, January 8, 1895, when Sir William H. Flower, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., D.Sc., F.R.S., delivered an address on "Whales, and British and Colonial Whale Fisheries."

Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., a Vice-President of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 28 Fellows had been elected, viz., 13 Resident and 15 Non-Resident.

#### Resident Fellows :—

*Sidney T. Batley, the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Dudley, Thomas Elliott, C.M.G., Captain William Godsal, R.E., Alfred G. Harmsworth, Andrew Johnston, J.P., John E. Liardet, Major Frederick B. McCreagh, William Neil, Sir John Henry Puleston, Lt.-Colonel Wm. W. Rawes, R.A., W. B. Skinner, Charles R. Valentine.*

#### Non-Resident Fellows :—

*Julius Berlein (Transvaal), Jivanlal V. Desai, B.A. (India), Loftus M. Fortier (Canada), Wm. C. Fricker (Cape Colony), H. Marshall Hole (Mashonaland), Ernest Howlett (Natal), Charles H. Hunter (Gold Coast Colony), P. Haughton James (Jamaica), E. H. V. Melvill (Cape Colony), C. Gibson Millar (Victoria), James Moon (Lagos), Hon. C. J. Simmons, M.L.C. (St. Vincent), Colonel Sir C. Holled Smith, K.C.M.G., C.B. (Commanding the Troops, Victoria), Thomas J. Thompson, B.A. (Sierra Leone), Sir Edgar Vincent, K.C.M.G. (Director-General, Ottoman Bank).*

It was also announced that donations to the Library of books, maps, &c., had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies, and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The name of Mr. J. R. Mosse on behalf of the Council and that of Mr. W. G. Devon Astle for the Fellows were submitted and approved as Auditors of the Accounts of the Institute for the past year in accordance with Rule 48.

The CHAIRMAN: I have now the pleasure of inviting you to listen to Sir William Flower on "Whales, and British and Colonial Whale Fisheries." No words of mine are required to introduce to you Sir William Flower—a man of world-wide reputation. But I may be allowed to say, in regard to myself, that my occupancy of

the Chair on this occasion is not, perhaps, altogether inappropriate, inasmuch as my family, many years ago, were largely interested in the southern sperm whale fishery, and my father, in conjunction with his partner, Mr. Curling, had no fewer than four ships engaged in the trade for a period of probably twenty years—from about 1825 to 1845. These vessels, I happen to remember, were named the *Corsair*, the *Kingsdown*, the *Walmer*, and the *Offley*. Each of these ships was of about 360 or 370 tons, and was manned by a somewhat large crew for its size. The ships were equipped and provisioned for no less than four years at a time. The crews were remunerated by shares, according to the success of the voyage, the captains having some twentieth and the sailors 150th share, or 175th part of the produce—which gave to the captains some 20*l.* a month, and the sailors 35*s.* or 45*s.* each per month. Of one of these ships—the *Corsair*—I have here a design drawn by my brother, and from this the other three were built in our own dockyard at Poplar. Thus, as you will see, I have a more than ordinary interest in the subject of our lecture this evening. The trade was a very profitable one for a certain period, but it was entirely destroyed by the ruthless practices of some of those who engaged in it. It is well known that the whale will never leave its offspring, and so they began to harpoon the young, knowing that that was the best way of capturing the mother-whale afterwards. In this way, as Sir William Flower will tell, the whale fishery soon became practically extinct. I will now ask Sir William Flower to deliver his address on

## WHALES, AND BRITISH AND COLONIAL WHALE FISHERIES.

WHEN asked by your Council to lecture upon some subject connected with natural history, it occurred to me that the great link between Britain and all her Colonies was the ocean, and that, therefore, something concerning its animal inhabitants might be interesting to those whose avocations and situation in life call them to traverse its pathless ways. Even in an ordinary voyage, such as is necessitated by any intercourse between a Colony and the Mother Country, some familiarity may be acquired with the gigantic denizens of the deep; but the knowledge of them so gained is generally so slight and superficial that I venture to think that some more accurate and definite information about them would be welcome. The subject I have chosen is, however, so large that I can



only, in the limited time allowed on one evening, select a few of the more interesting points in the history of these remarkable animals, both from the point of view of the naturalist and in their relation to human civilisation and commerce.

In the admirable sketch, by our greatest living naturalist, of the history of the science of comparative anatomy during the present century, appended to the recently published "Life of Sir Richard Owen," Professor Huxley says: "Take, for example, the question whether a whale is a fish or not, which, I observe, is not yet quite settled for some people. As the whale is not a little like a fish outside, and lives permanently in the sea, why should it not be classed with the fishes?" Before proceeding to answer this question, I must ask another. In what sense do you use the term "fish"? It happened to me a few years ago to receive a semi-official inquiry from the Colonial Office, as to whether a lobster was a fish, because an important point in the dispute between the French and English about the Newfoundland fisheries depended upon the interpretation of an old treaty in which the word "fish" occurs. After giving the modern naturalists' definition of a fish, by which a lobster is clearly excluded from the class, of course I felt it necessary to remind my correspondents that in such a case the real answer to the question lay in the sense in which the word was used at the time of the treaty, and by those who were parties to drawing it up, and if that could be ascertained it would be more to the point than the strictest of scientific definitions. Now, on turning to what was in the beginning of the present century our greatest authority on the meaning of words, I find in "Johnson's Dictionary" (I now quote from Todd's edition, 1818) "*fish*" defined as "an animal that inhabits the water." Without doubt this was the general and popular view, as the universally used expressions *shell-fish*, lobster and oyster *fisheries*, whale *fisheries*, and even seal *fisheries*, abundantly testify. I therefore cannot say that in a certain vague and antiquated sense of the word "fish" it may not be applied to the animals of which I propose to speak to you this evening; but this must not cause us to forget that, tested by the light of modern scientific knowledge, a whale is in everything essential in its structure entirely removed from the class of animals to which zoologists now restrict the term "fish," a very clearly defined group of cold-blooded creatures, breathing by means of gills the air which is dissolved in the water in which they swim, with lowly organised brain, and producing their young from eggs, and after they are born not nourishing them by the mother's milk—in all of which, and many other important characters, whales are entirely

removed from them. In fact, as Prof. Huxley continues, in response to the question with which I stopped the quotation :—

The answer, of course, is that the moment one compares a whale with any one of the thousands of ordinary fishes, the two are seen to differ in almost every particular of structure, and, moreover, in all those points in which the whale differs from the fish, it agrees with ordinary mammals. Therefore the zoologists put the whales into the same class with the mammals, and not into that of the fishes. But this conclusion implies the assumption that animals should be arranged according to the totality of their resemblances. It means that the likenesses in structure of whales and mammals are greatly more numerous and more close than the likenesses between whales and fishes.

It also means, if the derivative hypothesis of animal species is true, that the whale is far more nearly related to, say, a horse or a cow than it is to a cod or a shark.

It is decided, then, that, from the point of view of a zoologist at all events (whatever the fisherman and the man of business may continue to say), the whales and their allies belong to the class *Mammalia*, and not to that of *Pisces*. We can easily fix their place in that class as constituting a distinct and clearly defined order, the *Cetacea*, derived from the Latin word *cetus* = a whale. Although the term "whale" is generally, if somewhat vaguely, restricted to the larger and middle-sized members of the order, the smaller ones, commonly called "dolphins" and "porpoises," to all intents and purposes belong to it, and no line can be drawn to separate them except size; and even in this respect there is a regular gradation between the colossal rorqual of 80 feet in length to the pontoporia, or dolphin of the estuary of the La Plata, which scarcely exceeds a yard from snout to tail. On this occasion, after a few general observations on the group, I propose to limit myself almost entirely to the largest species, to which the term "whale" is most especially appropriate, and which have the greatest interest to man, on account of the industries to which the commercial value of their products gives rise.

Taken altogether, as I have mentioned, the *Cetacea* constitute a perfectly distinct and natural order of mammals, characterised by their purely aquatic mode of life and external fish-like form. Their body passes anteriorly into the head without any distinct constriction or neck, and posteriorly tapers off gradually to the tail, which is provided with a pair of lateral pointed expansions of skin, supported by dense fibrous tissue, called "flukes," forming together a horizontally placed triangular propelling organ, quite different

from the vertically placed tail fin of a fish. The fore limbs are reduced to the condition of flattened paddles, encased in a continuous skin, showing no external sign of division into arm, forearm, hand, or fingers, and without any trace of nails. There are no vestiges of hind limbs externally, although in many species visible rudiments of the hip and thigh bones, and of the muscles and joints connecting them, are found buried far away below the surface. The general surface of the body is smooth and glistening and devoid of hair, the absence of which, as a preserver of the animal heat, is compensated for by the remarkable layer of dense fat or "blubber" immediately beneath the skin. The whole organisation necessitates their life being passed entirely in the water, as on land they are absolutely helpless; but they have to rise very frequently to the surface for the purpose of respiration. The position of the respiratory orifice, nostril, or "blowhole" on the highest part of the head is very important for this mode of life, since it is the only part of the body of which the exposure above the surface is absolutely necessary. Of the numerous erroneous ideas connected with natural history, few are so widespread and still so firmly believed, notwithstanding repeated expositions of its falsity, as that whales spout out through their blowholes water taken in at their mouth. The fact is, the "spouting," or more properly "blowing," of the whale is nothing more than the ordinary act of breathing, which, taking place at longer intervals than in land animals, is performed with a greater amount of emphasis. The moment the animal rises to the surface it forcibly expels from its lungs the air taken in at the last inspiration, which of course is highly charged with watery vapour in consequence of the natural respiratory changes. This rapidly condensing in the cold atmosphere in which the phenomenon is generally observed forms a column of steam or spray, which has been erroneously taken for water.

It also often happens, especially when the surface of the ocean is agitated into waves, that the animal commences its expiratory puff before the orifice has quite cleared the top of the water, some of which may thus be driven upwards with the blast, tending to complete the illusion. In hunting whales the harpoon often pierces the lungs or air passages of the unfortunate victim, and then fountains of blood may be forced high in the air through the blowholes, as commonly depicted in scenes of Arctic adventure; but this is nothing more (allowance being made for the whale's peculiar mode of breathing) than what always follows severe wounds of the respiratory organs of other warm-blooded animals.



The *Cetacea* all subsist on animal food of some kind. One genus alone (the killers, *Orca*) eat other warm-blooded animals, as seals, and even members of their own order, both large and small. Some feed on fish, others on small floating crustacea, pteropods, and medusæ; while the staple food of many is constituted of the various species of cephalopods (squid and cuttlefish) which abound in some seas in vast quantities. With some exceptions they are generally timid, inoffensive animals, active in their movements, sociable, and gregarious in their habits. They are remarkable for the great care and affection with which they treat their young.

Among the existing members of the order there are two very distinct types—the toothed whales (*Odontoceti*) and the whalebone or baleen whales (*Mystococeti*), which present throughout their organisation markedly distinct structural characters, and have no transitional form between them. The giants of the order, of which I am about to speak, contain representatives of both.

The whales that have teeth and no whalebone are far the most numerous, and include all the smaller members of the order, the various kinds of dolphins and porpoises, among which are the fresh-water dolphins of the great rivers of India and South America. Some of the moderate-sized animals of this group, especially those spoken of by sailors under the vague designation of “grampuses,” bottlenoses, and black fish (*Orca*, *Hyperoodon*, and *Globicephalus* of zoologists), may be classed as whales, and some of them, as well as the narwhal and beluga, or white whale of the Arctic Seas, are objects of pursuit by man, and when captured yield products, mainly oil, of commercial value. But time will only allow me this evening to speak in any detail of one species, which greatly surpasses all the others, not only in size, but in value and interest, as having long afforded material for a regular and important branch of human industry. This is the animal commonly called the “sperm whale,” known in books by its French name of *cachalot*, or its scientific designation of *Physeter macrocephalus*, which, taken altogether—not in length, but in bulk and weight—is the most colossal of all animals.

Although a contrary opinion prevailed at one time, it is now fairly well established that there is but one species of sperm whale, which has a remarkably wide geographical distribution, being met with, usually in herds, or “schools” as they are termed, in almost all tropical or subtropical seas, but not occurring, except accidentally, in the Polar regions. Not unfrequently specimens appear on the



coasts of Great Britain, but only as solitary stragglers, or as dead carcasses floated northwards by the Gulf Stream. It is remarkable that every case of these of which we have an accurate record has been an old male. The females and young appear never to wander so far from their usual haunts, although they have been met with in the Mediterranean, and even on the Atlantic coast of France. The sperm whale (fig. 1) is a strange-looking animal, and cannot be mistaken for any other cetacean. The head is about one-third of the whole length of the animal, very massive, high and truncated in front, and owes its huge size and remarkable form mainly to the great accumulation of a peculiar form of oily matter, contained in great cells, connected with the nasal passages, and filling the large hollow on the upper surface of the skull. This oily matter, liquid at the natural temperature of the body, crystallises when cold, and yields



FIG. 1.<sup>1</sup>

when refined the spermaceti of commerce, so valuable in the manufacture of surgical ointments and candles. The nostril or "blowhole" is single, in the form of a longitudinal slit, and placed, not near the top of the head, as in most other cetaceans, but near the front end of the great snout, and rather to the left of the middle line. Consequently the "blowing" of the sperm whale is so different from that of all other species that the whalers can recognise it at any distance. The steamy jet, instead of being double and projected directly upwards, as in an ordinary fountain, which is the case with all the large whalebone whales, is single and directed obliquely forwards. The opening of the mouth is on the under side of the head, considerably behind the end of the snout. The lower jaw is extremely narrow, and has on each side from twenty to twenty-five stout conical teeth, which furnish ivory of good quality, though not in sufficient bulk for most of the purposes

<sup>1</sup> All the figures which illustrate this paper are taken, with the kind permission of the publishers, Messrs. A. & C. Black, from Flower & Lydekker's *Introduction to the Study of Mammals*.

for which that article is required. The upper teeth are quite rudimentary and buried in the gum. The pectoral fin, or flipper, is short and broad, and on the back, where many whales have a dorsal fin, there is a series of low, rounded protuberances, scarcely to be called fins. The general colour of the surface is black above and grey below, the colours gradually shading into each other. The food of the sperm whale consists mainly of various species of cephalopods (squid and cuttlefish), but they also eat fish of considerable size.

The length of the sperm whale has been, as is always the case in which size is the most striking characteristic, greatly exaggerated. Giants are always said to be much larger than they really are, as tested by rigid measurements. To say nothing of the fabulous dimensions given by older writers, even Beale, who had immense opportunities of actual observation, says that one captured in the Japan seas measured 84 feet in length. Such statements, however, intended in good faith, can never be relied upon; the difficulties and sources of fallacy of making such measurements are very great, and we are not assured whether the length is taken, as it should be, in straight line between the front end of the head and the middle of the end of the tail, or following the curves of the surface of the body, which of course would give a considerably larger length. I have taken great pains to ascertain by careful measurements of all the skeletons available of perfectly adult or even aged animals in various museums which I have visited, and it is curious how nearly alike they are. Allowing for the distance between the vertebræ and for the soft parts at either end, about 55 feet seems to be the usual length of the male sperm whale, and I have never been able to find any substantial proof that any one has even attained the length of 60 feet, fairly measured. The skeleton at Burton Constable, prepared from a whale which came ashore on the Yorkshire coast in 1825, is that of a very aged animal, and now measures 48 feet 4 inches in length, the vertebræ being articulated in close apposition, but even if 10 feet are allowed in addition, this would not bring it up to 60 feet. In the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons is a lower jaw presented by the late Mr. W. L. Crowther, of Hobart Town, which was considered as that of the largest sperm whale ever killed in the Tasmanian seas, and quite unique on account of its size. It only measures one inch more than the Yorkshire specimen. The female of this species, contrary to what occurs among the whalebone whales, is very much smaller than the male.

The products of the sperm whale which render it commercially valuable when killed are (1) sperm oil, obtained by boiling the thick coating of blubber which everywhere envelops the body of the animal; (2) spermaceti, contained in the great cavity on the top of the head; (3) ambergris, formerly used in medicine, and now in perfumery—a concretion formed in the intestine of this whale, and often found floating on the surface of the seas it inhabits. Its genuineness is proved by the presence of the horny beaks of the cephalopods on which the whale feeds.

The capture or “fishery” of the sperm whale will be spoken of later on in conjunction with that of the other species of whales.

All the other large whales which are of importance to man belong to the group called “whalebone whales,” because they are provided with a remarkable apparatus in the mouth for the purpose of obtaining their food, to which the rather misleading name of “whalebone” has been given; a name for which naturalists have substituted “baleen”; but the former is so completely engrafted into our language, especially in all commercial transactions connected with the subject, that it will probably last as long as the material itself, although it is now well known that it has nothing to do with “bone” in the ordinary acceptance of the word. What whalebone actually is was apparently a mystery to our forefathers. Belon in 1551 hazarded the conjecture that it was the eyebrows of the whale; but others thought that it was the apparatus by which it steered itself through the water. This notion is probably connected with the old feudal law cited by Blackstone (vol. i. p. 238),<sup>1</sup> that the tails of all whales belonged to the Queen as a perquisite to furnish her Majesty’s wardrobe with whalebone. The whalebone whales have no teeth in either jaw (except some of a most rudimentary nature, which disappear even before birth), but in the place they usually occupy, in the upper jaw only, or rather upon each side of the palate, the whalebone grows. This consists of a series of flattened horny plates, several hundred in number on each side, separated by a bare interval along the middle line. Their chemical composition and general character are exactly those of hair, horn, or hoof. In minute structure they more nearly resemble the horn of the rhinoceros than any other similar growth. They are placed transversely to the long axis of the palate, with very short spaces between them. Each plate or blade is somewhat triangular in form, with the base attached to the palate and the apex hanging downwards. The outer edge of the blade is hard and smooth, but the inner edge and apex fray out into long bristly fibres, so that

the roof of the whale's mouth looks as if covered with hair, as described by Aristotle. As the bony palate is more or less arched from before backwards, the blades are longest near the middle of the series, and gradually diminish towards the front and back of the mouth.

The use of the whalebone to the whale is to strain the water from the small marine molluscs, crustaceans, or fish upon which the whales subsist. In feeding they fill the immense mouth with water containing shoals of these small creatures, and then on their closing the jaws and raising the tongue, so as to diminish the cavity of the mouth, the water streams out through the narrow intervals between the hairy fringe of the whalebone blades, and escapes through the lips, leaving the living prey to be swallowed. In the different kinds of whales, which I shall now speak of, there are great differences in the character of the baleen. In the Californian grey whale (*Rachianectes glaucus*), an animal which attains a length of from 30 to 40 feet, the baleen blades are fewer than two hundred on each side, and far apart, very short (the longest being from 14 to 16 inches in length), coarse, and inelastic, light brown or nearly white in colour. From this there is a gradual transition, through the rorquals or finners, the humpbacks, southern right whales, up to the Greenland whale, which exhibits this structure in its greatest perfection, both for the purposes it serves in the animal economy, and for the uses to which it has been applied by man.

All the known whalebone whales may be divided into five different groups or *genera*, as they are called by naturalists, the first of which (genus *Balæna*) have long been distinguished by practical whalers as "right whales," as they are, compared to all the others, the right whales to catch, being of incomparably greater commercial value. They are readily distinguished externally by the perfectly smooth back, without any trace of a dorsal fin, and by the skin of the throat and chest being also smooth, whereas in most of the other forms it presents a number of deep longitudinal plaits or furrows. Of the right whales, there are two perfectly distinct forms, though whether each of these represents a single species, or can be subdivided into several, is still a matter of uncertainty, and for our present purpose of little importance, as if minute investigation can prove that they are separable, they are most closely allied and perfectly similar to all ordinary observation. The two forms, which I shall speak of as species or kinds, are the Greenland or rather Arctic right whale (*Balæna mysticetus*) and the southern right whale (*Balæna australis*).

The Arctic right whale (fig. 2), when full grown, attains the



length of from 45 to 50 feet, a size which, as in the case of the sperm whale, has generally been greatly exaggerated in old descriptions. As is apparently the case in all whalebone whales, but contrary to what occurs in the sperm whale, the female is rather larger than the male. Its external form is shown in fig. 2, from a careful drawing by Mr. Robert Gray. In this species all the peculiarities which distinguish the head and mouth of the whales from those of other mammals have attained their greatest development. The head is of enormous size, exceeding one-third of the whole length of the creature. The cavity of the mouth is fully as large as that of the body, chest, and abdomen together. The upper jaw is very narrow but greatly arched from before backwards, to increase the height of the cavity and allow for the great length of the baleen or "whalebone" blades; the enormous rami of the lower jaw are widely separated behind, and have a still

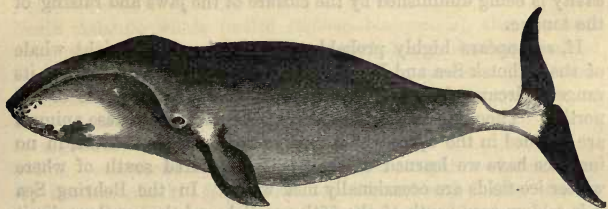


FIG. 2.

farther outward sweep before they meet in front, giving the floor of the mouth the shape of an immense spoon. The baleen blades attain the number of 380 or more on each side, and those in the middle of the series have a length of 10 or sometimes 12 feet. They are black in colour, fine, and highly elastic in texture, and fray out at the inner edge and ends into long, delicate, soft, almost silky, but very tough hairs. The remarkable development of the mouth, and of the structures in connection with it, which distinguishes the right whale among its allies is entirely in relation to the nature of its food. It is by this apparatus that it is enabled to avail itself of the minute but highly nutritious crustaceans and pteropods which swarm in immense shoals in the seas it frequents. The large mouth enables it to take in at one time a sufficient quantity of water filled with these small organisms, and the length and delicate structure of the baleen provide a sufficient strainer or hair-sieve by which the water can be drained off. If the baleen

were rigid, and only as long as is the aperture between the upper and lower jaws when the mouth is shut, a space would be left beneath it, when the jaws are separated, through which the water and the minute particles of food would escape together. But instead of this, the long, slender, brush-like, elastic ends of the whalebone blades fold back when the mouth is closed, the front ones passing below the hinder ones in a channel lying between the tongue and the lower jaw. When the mouth is opened their elasticity causes them to straighten out like a bow unbent, so that at whatever distance the jaws are separated the strainer remains in perfect action, filling the whole of the interval. The mechanical perfection of the arrangement is completed by the great development of the lower lip, which rises stiffly above the jawbone, and prevents the long, slender, flexible ends of the baleen from being carried outwards by the rush of water from the mouth, when its cavity is being diminished by the closure of the jaws and raising of the tongue.

If, as appears highly probable, the "bowhead" or right whale of the Okhotsk Sea and Behring Strait belongs to this species, its range is circumpolar, but it is strictly limited to the icy seas of the north. "Though," as Scammon says, "it is true that these animals are pursued in the open water during the summer months, in no instance have we learned of their being captured south of where winter ice-fields are occasionally met with." In the Behring Sea it is seldom seen south of the 55th parallel, and the southern limit of its range in the North Sea has been ascertained by Eschricht and Reinhardt to be from the east coast of Greenland at 64° N. lat. along the north of Iceland towards Spitzbergen. Though found in the seas on both sides of Greenland, and passing freely from one to the other, it is never seen so far south as Cape Farewell; but on the Labrador coast, where a cold stream sets down from the north, its range is somewhat further. There is no authentic instance of its having been seen or captured upon any European coast.

The southern right whale, or "black whale" (fig. 3), as it is often called by whalers, attains about the same length as the last, but differs in being more slender in form, in possessing a smaller head in proportion to the body, shorter baleen (scarcely more than half the length), a differently shaped contour of the upper margin of the lower lip, and a greater number of vertebræ. Animals of this group closely resembling each other have been found abundantly in the temperate seas of both hemispheres, North Atlantic and North

Pacific (where they are regularly hunted by the Japanese), and in the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope, Kerguelen's Island, Australia, and New Zealand, but according to Captain Maury's charts are never or rarely seen in the tropical seas. It is chiefly this supposed isolation of distribution rather than any constant distinctive characters which has given rise to the idea that the



FIG. 3.

LODGE

North Atlantic whale (called *Balæna biscayensis*), the Japanese (*B. japonica*), the Cape whale (*B. australis*), and the New Zealand sperm (*B. antipodarum*) must be of different species. Until more numerous specimens of skeletons are procured for our museums, or more accurate descriptions can be obtained, the question cannot be satisfactorily determined.

The whalebone whales, not called right whales, are (1) the humpback (*Megaptera*), or "hunchback" (fig. 4), so called by whalers on account of the low hump-like form of the dorsal fin. In Dudley's account of the whales of the New England coast (*Phil. Trans.* 1725), the fourth species is "The bunch or

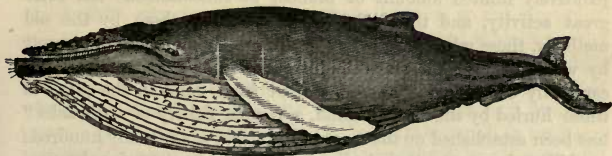


FIG. 4.

humpback whale, distinguished from the right whale by having a bunch standing in the place where the fin does in the finback. This bunch is as big as a man's head, and a foot high, shaped like a plug pointing backwards." A better distinction from all other whalebone whales is the immense length of the pectoral fins or flippers, which are indented or scalloped along their margins. The

usual length of the adult ranges from 45 to 50 feet. The baleen plates are short and broad, and of a deep black colour. This whale has a very wide range, being found, with no important differences, in both North and South Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and from Greenland to South Georgia. When caught it yields a fair supply of oil, but much less than the right whales, and its whalebone is of very inferior quality.

(2) The rorquals, or finners (*Balænoptera*) (fig. 5). These have the plicated skin of the throat like that of the humpback, the furrows being more numerous and close set, but the pectoral fins are comparatively small, and the dorsal fin distinct, compressed, and triangular. The head is comparatively small and flat, and pointed in front, the whalebone short and coarse, the body long and slender, and the tail very much compressed before it expands into the "flukes." The rorquals are perhaps the most abundant and widely



FIG. 5.

distributed of all the whales, being found in all seas, except the extreme Arctic and probably Antarctic regions. Owing to the small quantity and inferior quality of their whalebone, the comparatively limited amount of blubber or subcutaneous fat, their great activity, and the difficulty of capturing them by the old methods, these whales were not until recently an object of pursuit by whale-fishers; but since the introduction of steam-vessels, and especially of explosive harpoons fired from guns in the place of those hurled by the human hand, a regular fishery of "finbacks" has been established on the coast of Finmark, where many hundreds are killed every year, their bodies being towed to shore for the purpose of flensing. Some of the rorquals attain the largest size of any of the *Cetacea*, the blue whale (*Balænoptera Sibbaldii*), not unfrequent in the British Seas, reaching a length of 80 or perhaps 85 feet when fully adult. On the other hand, one common species never exceeds 30 feet in length.

(3) Besides these there are other two forms of whalebone whales not reckoned as right whales, the grey whale of the North Pacific



(*Rhachianectes glaucus*), and a small and very peculiar species from the seas around New Zealand and Australia (*Neobalæna marginata*); but these being very local in distribution, and of little value except for museums, are more interesting from a scientific than from a commercial point of view.

I now proceed to the next part of my subject—the pursuit and capture of whales by man for the sake of the materials they yield, which are of value in commerce. The method universally followed is attacking the animal when it comes to the surface of the water by means of a weapon called a harpoon, with an iron sharp-pointed barbed head, and the shaft of which is attached to a strong line. In former days this was always thrown by the hand, and to do so effectually required great skill on the part of the man who wielded it. Now the harpoon is generally projected from a gun, which carries a considerably greater distance than could be traversed by a hand-thrown weapon, and the necessity of approaching so closely to the animal is avoided. Various methods to increase the efficacy of harpoons have also been introduced, including devices by which they explode within the body of the victim. Long straight spears or lances are also used to despatch the animal when it has been secured by the line attached to the harpoon. The whale is always approached by rowing in a boat as closely to it as necessary. These boats may be directly connected with a station on the coast or with a ship out at sea. This gives rise to the primary division of whale fishing into two principal methods: shore fishing and open-sea fishing, both of which are extensively practised in various parts of the world. In the first, a look out is kept from a station or some projecting headland, and when a whale appears within sight signals are given on which the boats go out in pursuit, and when a capture takes place the body is towed to shore for the purpose of obtaining its valuable products. In the second, the ships sail to some distant part of the open sea, where it is supposed that whales are likely to be met with. The look out is kept from the “crow’s nest” on the masthead, and the boats being all in readiness row out in pursuit the moment a whale is sighted, and if successful tow their prey to the side of the vessel.

As I mentioned before, all cetaceans have immediately beneath their skin, and closely connected with it, a very dense layer of what is called “blubber,” in large whales as much as a foot in thickness, composed of a network of cellular tissue, the interspaces of which are filled with oil. This layer, though so adherent to the outer skin as to be separated from it with difficulty, is only connected with

the flesh or muscles which lie below by loose tissue, and so is easily stripped off. With a large whale this process, which is called "flensing," is effected as follows. If the animal is caught at sea, the carcass is lashed alongside the ship, and men with spikes in their shoes, descend upon the slippery surface, and with large sharp-edged spades perform the cutting part of the operation, having first fixed, by means of a hook, a strong rope into the blubber at the junction of the head and the body. This rope runs over pulleys fixed to the rigging of the ship, and the blubber, separated by the spades into strips about two or three feet broad, is gradually hauled up on to the deck of the ship. The cuts being made in a spiral direction round the body of the whale, the blubber is stripped off from head to tail, much as a spiral roller or bandage might be, the body of the whale meanwhile performing a rotatory motion. When the blubber is brought on board, it is cut up into smaller pieces, and either stowed in casks or tanks to be brought home to undergo the next process, that of "trying out," or if the voyage is of lengthened duration, as in the case of the South Sea whalers hailing from European or American ports, this is done on board the ship. It simply consists of boiling the blubber in large iron pots until the oil is separated from the mesh of cellular tissue which contained it, the latter being generally used for fuel in subsequent boilings. In the case of the sperm whale the upper surface of the great head is opened, and the liquid spermaceti is baled out of the cavities which contain it, and in the case of the whalebone whales the whalebone is removed from the mouth. All the rest of the animal being useless is turned adrift into the sea, and speedily becomes the prey of voracious sharks and other fish and sea birds. When whales are caught near the shore, as in many of the "fisheries" from boats without the intervention of sea-going vessels, they are towed into shallow water for the purpose of flensing and removing the whalebone.

The earliest known regular whale fishery is that which took place from the Basque towns of France and Spain, Bayonne, Biarritz, St. Jean de Luz, Fuenterrabia, St. Sebastian, Guetaria, Ondarroa, and many others. From the tenth century onwards the hardy fishermen of the towns and villages of this coast pursued the Atlantic right whales in the Bay of Biscay, at first only catching them from open boats near the shore, but afterwards, as the whales became more scarce and the whalers more adventurous, following them in ships across the Atlantic to the Bermudas, Newfoundland, and Iceland. From this source all the whale oil and all the whale-

bone used by our forefathers down to the year 1600 was derived. Queen Elizabeth and all her court depended upon the Basque fishermen for the most prominent characteristics of their costume. The supply was, however, diminishing when the attempt to discover the North-East route to China, about the close of the sixteenth century, led to the opening up of the sea between Greenland and Spitzbergen, and the discovery of the Arctic right whale, an animal up to that time practically unknown to man. This being much more valuable, both on account of the larger quantity and finer quality of the whalebone it produced, and also the larger amount of oil, for many years attracted the principal attention of the whaling ships of Europe. The English entered into the business at a very early period, but, being unacquainted with the methods of capturing whales, engaged Basque harpooners for all their earliest voyages, and closely followed the methods. The very word "harpoon" is said to be Basque. The Dutch also took the fishing up on a very extensive scale, and established a permanent settlement upon the northern shore of Spitzbergen, which they named "Smeeremberg," which was the rendezvous of the whaling fleet during the summer, and to which the blubber was brought for boiling. In its most flourishing period, about the year 1680, the Dutch whale fishery employed about 260 ships and 14,000 men. When, however, the whales became scarcer in the neighbourhood of the coast, and the ships had to seek them further in the open sea, it was found more economical to bring the blubber direct to Holland, and Smeeremberg was deserted. The great war at the end of the last century, in which England kept possession of the North Sea, put an end to the whale fishery, not only of Holland, but of France and of all other countries which had engaged in it, and henceforth we maintained a monopoly of the trade. From the year 1732 to 1824, our government paid bounties, amounting altogether, it is calculated, to £2,500,000, to vessels engaged in the northern whaling business, with a view to encourage the enterprise. The ships at first sailed from London, then Hull, Yarmouth, and Whitby entered into the field. In 1819 as many as sixty-five ships went to the north from Hull. Since 1836 no ship has gone from London, and now Dundee and Peterhead are the only ports in the British Islands which keep up the northern whale fishery, though on a much more limited scale than formerly.

The fishery between Greenland and Spitzbergen, which in the last century proved so productive, is almost played out, but that of Davis Straits and Lancaster Sound is still remunerative, owing

to the very high price that whalebone has lately been fetching. At the beginning of the century the average value was from £70 to £90 a ton, but a few years ago a sale was effected at the enormous sum of £2,650 per ton; this is the highest price which has ever been given for it, and recently it has somewhat declined. In 1893 four Dundee vessels secured between them twenty-seven whales. An average-sized Greenland whale will produce about fifteen hundredweight of whalebone and about fifteen tons of oil. The Greenland fishery begins early in May, and goes on to the end of September. A few vessels remain all winter in Cumberland Inlet, ready to take advantage of the opening of the ice in the following spring. The Arctic right whale, called locally by the American whalers the "bowhead," has since 1848 been regularly hunted in the neighbourhood of Behring Strait and the Okhotsk Sea, where its southern limit, according to Scammon, is about 54°.

Although doubtless individual sperm whales approaching near the shore, especially in the neighbourhood of the right whale fisheries, had often fallen a prey to man, the systematic capture of this species is of recent date compared to that of some other kinds. It began about the end of the seventeenth century, from the Atlantic coasts of North America, especially the part then called New England, at first only from the shore, but afterwards in sea-going vessels from Nantucket, New Bedford, and other ports, which gradually extended their voyages into the Indian and Pacific Oceans. From the year 1775 vessels engaged in this trade (assisted for a time by Government bounties) regularly left the mouth of the Thames for the South Seas, making voyages of three or four years' duration; but since 1853 the business has been abandoned by the English, and what little remains of it has almost entirely reverted into the hands of the Americans. At one time our Australian Colonies had a considerable number of ships engaged in the sperm whale fishery, and a few still sail every year from Hobart Town. Sperm oil has fallen so greatly in price that its production is now hardly a remunerative industry, and it has found a rival, possessing all the qualities which render it of special value, in the oil of an allied but much smaller species of whale, the bottlenose (*Hyperoodon*), which has consequently become the object of a regular fishery in the North Sea, especially by the Norwegians.

Let me now return to the whales of the Basques, the North Atlantic right whale. It is a singular fact that its existence was quite overlooked by naturalists till lately, all accounts of it which are to



be found in the numerous records of European whale fishing having been attributed to the Greenland whale, which was supposed by Cuvier, for instance, to have had formerly a much wider distribution than now, and to have been driven by the persecution of man to its present circumpolar haunts. To the two Danish naturalists Eschricht and Reinhardt is due the credit of having proved its existence as a distinct species from a careful collation of numerous historical notices of its structure, distribution, and habits, and, although they were at one time disposed to think that the species had become extinct, they were able to show that this was not the case, an actual specimen having been captured in the harbour of San Sebastian in January 1854, the skeleton of which Eschricht was fortunate enough to secure for the Copenhagen Museum. More recently other specimens have been captured on the Spanish coast, the Mediterranean, North America, and Norway. A skeleton has fortunately been secured for the British Museum, the exhibition of which is only delayed by the want of a proper room in which it can be mounted. In the North Pacific a very similar if not identical whale is regularly hunted by the Japanese, who tow the carcasses ashore for the purpose of flensing and extracting the whalebone. In the tropical seas, according to Captain Maury's whale charts, right whales are never or rarely seen, but when the southern temperate seas were explored, they were found to be abundantly inhabited by right whales called "black whales," so closely similar in character to the Atlantic and Japanese species that, although described and named as if distinct, at present no satisfactory and constant characters have been pointed out by which they can be separated. Of course this may arise from our very imperfect knowledge of these animals, very few specimens<sup>1</sup> having been preserved in museums, and still fewer accurate descriptions and drawings have been made of recently killed individuals, notwithstanding the hundreds of thousands which have been slaughtered by British and American ships during the present century. Just as its northern representative approached the coasts during the winter, and left for the open seas in the summer months, so these southern whales resorted to the bays and inlets of the Cape of Good Hope, Australia, and New Zealand during the southern winter (May to October), and departed for higher latitudes during the remainder of the year.

Though certain numbers of the southern right whales were

<sup>1</sup> The skeleton is almost the only part of a whale which can be satisfactorily preserved.

caught in the open sea by American or Colonial ships engaged mainly in the sperm whale fishery, the principal fishery at one time, as remunerative to those who pursued it as it was destructive to the whales, was carried on from the shore, at first at the Cape, then in Australia and Tasmania, and more recently in New Zealand. Of the latter we have very detailed accounts in many contemporary works, Wakefield, Dieffenbach, and others, and a good epitome of its history will be found in Sherrin's "*Handbook of the Fishery of New Zealand*" (1886). Although whaling vessels from America and England were in the habit of visiting the New Zealand seas for the purposes of their trade ever since the beginning of the century, the first shore station was established in 1827 at Preservation Inlet, near the south end of the Middle Island, and in a few years there were twelve stations between that place and Banks Peninsula. In 1833 Messrs. G. and E. Weller, merchants of Sydney, founded a whaling establishment at Otago, which was for a short time the most successful and important of any on the coast. In 1834 the whales caught yielded 310 tons of oil, besides bone, and for several years there were on this station from seventy-five to eighty Europeans constantly employed. In 1840 the oil fell off to fourteen tons, and the fishery was abandoned. The value of "black oil" at this time was £8 to £12 a ton in New Zealand, and as much as £30 in London. In other parts of the islands the fishery was continued for a longer period. It is stated that in 1843 the whole fishery on the whole of the coast employed eighty-five boats and some 730 men, and the oil taken amounted to 1,290 tons, valued at £20,000, the whalebone being valued at £12,000. After this period the decline in the take became very rapid, and the stations with their great shears for hoisting the bodies of the whales on shore for the purpose of flensing, the furnaces and boiling pots for "trying out" the oil, and the bold and hardy, but unhappily rough and dissolute, inhabitants entirely disappeared from the scene. The cause of this is not difficult to divine. The result was fully anticipated by all who carefully observed what was going on. Almost literally the goose that laid the golden egg was being killed. The whales appeared in the month of May and remained till October. Those that approached nearest to the coast and were the easiest prey to the fishermen were females about to bring forth their young. It was the regular habit of this species of whale to seek at this season some quiet, sheltered harbour, bay, or inlet, and there to remain with the new-born young, until it acquired strength and vigour enough to take care of itself in the

open sea. The very affection of the whale for her young thus became the principal cause of its destruction. The whalers soon discovered that if the calf (as they called it) was wounded or caught the mother would never leave it, and they found that the calf, though of no value in itself, being inexperienced and slow, was easily captured, and then the mother became a sure prey. To the old code, regulating the northern whale fisheries, which assigned the whale to the boat which first fixed a harpoon securely in it, they added: "The boat making fast to a calf has a right to the cow, because the cow will not desert her young." It should be added that strong protests were made against this cruel and in the end unprofitable mode of capture, but they all passed unheeded. The result has been to the southern right whale much the same as that which happened to its Atlantic ally after its persecution by the Basques, although it was brought about in a much shorter space of time. The whale not only became scarce on the New Zealand coasts, but in all parts of its range. To destroy it in its last remaining breeding haunts was to destroy it everywhere. Although we have at present, unfortunately, very little accurate information about the habits and migrations of whales, there is every reason to believe that in the Antarctic summer this species retired nearer the South Pole. Sir James C. Ross in 1840, in lat.  $64^{\circ}$ , nearly due south of New Zealand, and again in 1842 in nearly the same latitude, south of the Falkland Islands, found right whales very abundant in the month of December. On the strength of this observation it has been thought that a whale corresponding to the Arctic right whale might be a permanent inhabitant of the Antarctic icy seas. Two years ago some ships sailed from Dundee in the hope of meeting with it, but they were completely disappointed. No trace of such whales was found, for doubtless Sir James Ross had only come across the summer haunts of the same whales which were then undergoing the process of ruthless extermination in their winter breeding places on the Australian and New Zealand coasts. Such having been the fate of this species, and the sperm whale not being habitually found in icy seas, the probability of any large whale being again met with in the Antarctic regions is very remote.

Our Colonial whale fisheries are practically extinct, probably never to be revived, at all events with anything like the success they met with formerly. Not that any species of whale is likely to be completely exterminated by man. It is only too easy to exterminate an animal whose habitat is confined to land, especially



if that land is of limited extent, as in the case of an island ; but the ocean is vast, and the possibilities of escape from pursuers in it are great. When the numbers of any species become so small that it no longer pays to hunt them, they have a chance, as has been most strikingly shown in the case of the North Atlantic or Biscay whale. Without doubt, they would increase again in the southern seas, and if means could be taken to give the whale an effectual close-time, the Australian and New Zealand black-whale fishery could be revived, as it has been partially in Tasmania ; but the difficulty and expense of establishing any sufficient protection would probably be greater than the value of the produce. Although the better qualities of whalebone still maintain a very high price, owing to their great scarcity, substitutes for it are being gradually invented, and the competition of mineral oils, now found in such abundance in so many parts of the world, and the rapid advances of other methods of lighting have greatly reduced the value of both sperm and train oil. Unless whales can be caught easily and cheaply, they will not be worth catching at all ; and this indicates their best chance of maintaining their place in the world, as experience shows that if any profit can be made out of them, the cupidity of man will give them no quarter.

#### DISCUSSION.

Mr. H. MONCREIFF PAUL : Sir William Flower has given us a most interesting historical review of this subject. My object is to mention one or two points in connection with the commercial aspect of the question. Sir William Flower has rightly hinted that we are, if not the slaves to, at any rate much dependent on, fashion, and that we live in an age of substitutes. These two factors have interfered very considerably with the commercial value of the product of the whale, whether in the form of oil or bone. The prices of these products have very much depreciated of late years. The price of other articles has, as we know, also depreciated ; but in the case of whale products in particular the decline has been very considerable indeed. In that of pale whale oil the decline during the last two years has been some 10 per cent., and in sperm oil some 15 per cent. It is quite true that the demand for these oils has been diminished by reason of the fact that mineral oils have come so much into vogue for lighting and other purposes, and the introduction of the electric light and other lights has perhaps also interfered



with the consumption of sperm oil. In the case of whalebone the decline in value is even more marked. In the past two years whalebone, whether from the south or the north, from the Greenland or the Arctic whale, has fallen in value some 32 or 35 per cent. It is still, no doubt, a valuable commodity; but when you come to the cheaper portion of the whale—the finners, substitutes for which come very much into play—the decline is much more pronounced. Finners are worth 75 per cent. less than they were worth two years ago; and if it were not for the Continental demand, we should not be able to maintain even that level of prices. It has not been a case of the supply outrunning the demand. The supply has not increased; it has, on the contrary, sensibly decreased. Our lecturer evidently does not desire that the whale fishery should be developed, for the reason that in times past there has been a tendency at different points so to conduct it as to run the risk of exterminating the fish. Be that as it may, we do not at present see any good reason why the whale fishery should be developed, because, if the supply were increased, the demand would not follow, and prices would fall even below what they are now, unless by a change of trade and fashion the consumption of whalebone and whale oil were markedly developed.

Sir HENRY PEEK, Bart. : I should like to ask Sir William Flower whether, in addition to oil and whalebone, ambergris, universally used as a perfume and in some parts of the world for medicinal and culinary purposes, was one of the objects of the sperm whale fishery. Some eighty or a hundred years ago part of my premises in the city was occupied by a firm in the trade, which eventually died out. Among the odds and ends remaining in the warehouse were three barrels—neither contents nor ownership known—which had been there before living memory. Samples were sent into Mincing Lane, when the broker declared it to be ambergris worth some pounds per ounce, and it was gradually sold in the drug sales two or three hundred ounces at a time on account of whom it might concern. The general idea was that some captain of a whaler had so invested his savings, and leaving no memoranda of any kind, nothing had been done either by his employers or representatives.

The CHAIRMAN : The wide range of subjects that are from time to time brought before the notice of this Institute cannot fail to have struck all of you, for we endeavour to instruct the public both at home and in the Colonies, not only on commercial, geographical, social, and historical questions relating to the Empire, but every

now and then we have also an almost purely scientific lecture such as that you have heard to-night. On May 6, 1879, as many of you will recollect, we had the great honour of hearing an attractive address from the late Sir Richard Owen on the extinct animals of the British Colonies, and to-night we have had the pleasure of hearing the admirable lecture of his distinguished successor. Mention has been made of the southern whale fishery having been taken up by Englishmen at the latter part of the last century. The reference was no doubt to Mr. Samuel Enderby, whose son I knew personally, and a pamphlet which the firm published in 1847 contains a proposal for the revival of the British southern whale fishery. The Enderbys were at one time largely engaged in the trade. There has been some allusion to Antarctic exploration. Our distinguished lecturer is somewhat pessimistic as to what might be the result of such an expedition, but I may mention that this Institute has already taken some part in endeavouring to induce the British Government to join the southern Colonies in a project of the kind which, among other things, must settle the question whether any of the whales driven from other hunting grounds had taken refuge in those regions. I think our communication was dated October 25, 1877, and was addressed by our Secretary to the then Secretary for the Colonies, asking the Government to grant a sum of £5,000 to supplement that which the Australian Colonies were willing to subscribe for the purpose. The reply—a very courteous one—was practically a refusal of the request. Still, something may come of the scheme some day. Sir Henry Peek has mentioned a curious discovery of ambergris. I may say the ambergris is a very valuable commodity indeed for the purposes of the perfumer. In a book which I hold in my hand, “Narrative of a Whaling Voyage round the Globe, from 1833 to 1836,” by Frederick Debell Bennett, vol. ii. pp. 226, 227, I find this notice of ambergris :—

Concretions of ambergris are either black, grey, yellow, or ash colour, mottled with yellow and black. They occur of various sizes, and their minimum weight would appear to be 30 or 40 lb.; but it is reported that one of a most prodigious size, weighing 182 lb., was carried to Ireland in the year 1694. An entire concretion which had been recently taken from a cachalot destroyed by the south seaman *Hoffly* (that is, the *Offley* I have already mentioned as one of the ships belonging to my father), and which was shown to me by her commander when we spoke that vessel in 1835, did not exceed 4 oz. in weight. It was in the state as removed from the whale, . . . resembling soap in texture and consistence, and was similarly unctuous to the touch,

I conclude by moving a cordial vote of thanks to Sir William Flower for his interesting and instructive address.

Professor E. E. MORRIS (Melbourne University): I have been asked to second this vote of thanks, not because I know anything about whales—right whales or “wrong” whales—but because I have very recently left one of our southern Colonies, and am very soon to return. I was out dining the other day, and my hostess told me that her little boy, having heard an Australian was coming, said, “I suppose he will come in the daylight.” I had not been able to bring our daylight or our summer with me; I am at present enjoying, you will be pleased to hear, my long vacation—my summer holidays. I should like to put to you a simple question: Did you ever see a whale? I am in the happy position of having seen some whales quite recently. I have now made several voyages between Australia and England, and on almost every occasion I have seen what sailors, perhaps trying to make fun of a landsman, have described as whales. Sir William Flower has expressed sceptical views with regard to the existence of the whale in the southern seas. I have some testimony to bear with respect to their existence, because quite recently—not many months ago—two whales were seen disporting themselves in Port Phillip. I did not see them myself, but I appeal to the veracity of the Melbourne papers, which described their appearance, and some old whalers were consulted to see if they had forgotten how to throw the harpoon, but none ever succeeded in catching the whales. I should be sorry if Sir William Flower’s view were to obtain, that there is no commercial advantage in chasing the whale in the southern seas. I am not so much concerned as to whether the whalers succeed in getting the oil or the whalebone, but I do care very much about the increase of geographical knowledge of the southern seas; and I think we had great reason to hope in connection with the recent voyage made by the whalers of Dundee and Peterhead to the southern seas. A book published in connection with the voyage is of considerable value, but its chief value is the promise of the greater knowledge which may be obtained in future. Many Australians were very sorry when, some seven or eight years ago, the answer came from the Colonial Office to which Sir Frederick Young has alluded, for those were days when the southern Colonies were prosperous, and in a condition to subsidise expeditions to the Antarctic seas. At present we are in the melancholy position of being short of funds. You may remember in *Hamlet*, when the famous answer, “Very like a whale,” was given, it was because Hamlet himself pointed out there

was a certain cloud on the horizon. Let us hope the cloud in this case is not to be a real or a permanent cloud, but only "like a whale." I would remind you also, as having a certain value in the most of our troubles—we have Shakspeare's authority—that the sovereign thing on earth is spermaceti for an inward bruise. As one who knew little about the whale, but now knows more, I beg to second the vote of thanks to Sir William Flower.

The motion was cordially approved.

SIR WILLIAM FLOWER: I am very much obliged to previous speakers for having referred to Antarctic exploration, for I should be sorry if anything I have said this evening should lead to my being misunderstood. There is no one in this country more anxious than I am that Antarctic exploration should be undertaken, because I think that as long as any part of the earth's surface is unexplored it is a discredit to civilised man, and especially to the British nation, who are the people of all others by whom it ought to be done. But when that expedition is undertaken I hope it will be put on its proper basis, and that it will be really and truly in the interests of scientific knowledge. If it is undertaken on some pretext of pecuniary advantage, I cannot profess to take much interest in it, more especially if the result of such an expedition should be the extermination of the interesting species of animals which inhabit those regions. As to Sir Henry Peek's question, the value of ambergris to the perfumer is not so much its own scent as the fact that when mixed with other ingredients it has the property of fixing and bringing out and intensifying their scents. I now beg to move a vote of thanks to our Chairman, who has so ably presided over us, and who has helped me out in the lecture by his observations both before and after.

The CHAIRMAN briefly replied, and the meeting then separated



#### FOURTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Fourth Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, February 12, 1895, when the Hon. T. H. Whitehead, M.L.C., Hong Kong, read a Paper on "The Critical Position of British Trade with Oriental Countries."

Nevile Lubbock, Esq., a Member of the Council of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 17 Fellows had been elected, viz., 8 Resident and 9 Non-Resident.

##### Resident Fellows :—

*Henry Fenn, F.R.H.S., Henry J. Gibbs, Major J. E. W. Howey, Right Rev. George Wyndham Kennion, D.D., Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, D. J. Mackay, John Nowlan, A.M. Inst. C.E., Forbes G. Vernon (Agent-General for British Columbia), William H. Weller.*

##### Non-Resident Fellows :—

*Harry Armytage (Barrister-at-Law, Victoria), George D. T. Bell (Ceylon), Everard Browne (Victoria), Hon. David Don, M.L.C. (Natal), Charles F. Law (British Columbia), Archibald McGoun, jun. (Canada), Comr. Cæsar F. de M. Malan, R.N. (Natal), E. J. Moss (China), James Stevens (Western Australia).*

It was also announced that donations to the Library of books, maps, &c. had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies, and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN: I have now the pleasure of introducing to you Mr. T. H. Whitehead, who has been for twenty years in the East, and is now manager of one of our leading banks at Hong Kong. He has therefore been, as I may say, in the thick of the fray with regard to the silver troubles, and I am sure his experience will prove of great value to you.

Mr. WHITEHEAD then read his Paper on

## THE CRITICAL POSITION OF BRITISH TRADE WITH ORIENTAL COUNTRIES.

### PREFACE.

IN the title of the Paper which I have the honour to present this evening the most moderate language which could be applied to the present economic situation has been employed. An experience of some twenty years in exchange banking in India, China, and Japan enables me to speak with some authority of the critical position of British trade with Oriental countries. Therefore, without further introduction, let me proceed to deal with the following subjects, which will give some idea of the scope of the Paper. The subjects are :—The decadence of British trade ; Indian manufactures superseding English goods ; the critical position of British industries ; the closing of the Indian mints offers a bounty to Chinese and Japanese manufactures ; the vast industrial future for China and Japan ; the divergence between gold and silver is a national calamity ; the stability of prices in silver-using countries ; and the perilous position of British labour as affected by the competition of Asiatic labour.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### THE DECADENCE OF BRITISH TRADE.

The position of commercial supremacy which Great Britain has achieved has been gradually built up during the past two hundred years. The joint standard of gold and silver in the eighteenth century in Europe, including England, and in the present century in France, Italy, Belgium, and Switzerland, but more particularly in France, gave for a long time stability to the gold price of silver, as well as steadiness to the value of gold, whereby British efforts were materially aided in the enormous development of our world-wide trade. Under that monetary system France kept her mints open from 1803 until 1873 to the unlimited coinage of gold and silver. Therefore up to 1873 all the gold and silver available for coinage were minted into money at a fixed ratio of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, without restriction of quantity. Both metals when coined were at that time, and

still are, full legal tender money, and applicable under her monetary law to the payment of debts to any amount. The coins minted from the two precious metals gave the world a single measure of value of gold and silver, and maintained a reasonable level of prices. The currencies of the West and of the East were tied together by a fixed par of exchange, and while this remained in force it gave freedom to the general course of trade throughout the civilised world, and stimulated by its steadiness commerce and trade between the two hemispheres. In 1871–72 Germany demonetised silver, and adopted a gold standard. France ceased in 1873 to keep her mints open to the free coinage of silver, and thus for the first time in its history silver ceased to be coined at a fixed ratio with gold. Our monometallic law of 1816 and similar legislation in other countries enacted since 1871 have produced unprecedented depression—industrial, commercial, agricultural, and financial. This general depression is confined chiefly to countries with a gold standard, while most of those which have a silver measure of value are prospering in no ordinary degree. The opening in 1870 of the Suez Canal, giving a comparatively short trade route to India, China, and Japan, lessened the cost of transport of merchandise, and gave a great impetus to the general development of our commerce. The free trade legislation inaugurated by Sir Robert Peel; the ability, perseverance, and enterprise of merchants, bankers, and traders; the capacity and energy of manufacturers; and the ingenuity and skilfulness of mechanics and textile workers all contributed enormously to the expansion as well as to the strengthening and consolidation of the Empire. The continued extension of British trade is now indispensable to our national life. Exports have increased in quantity, but nevertheless, when measured in gold, the value shows a large decrease.

#### EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

From the Statistical Abstracts for the United Kingdom and Board of Trade Returns it appears—

	£
1. That our imports for 1891 reached the maximum, viz. . . . .	435,441,000
And for 1894 receded to . . . . .	408,505,000
Showing a decline in 1894, as compared with 1891, of . . . . .	26,936,000
2. That our exports amounted for 1890 to . . . . .	328,251,000
And for 1894 to . . . . .	274,160,000
Showing a decline in 1894, as compared with 1890, of . . . . .	54,091,000

The Statistical Abstracts do not give the imports and exports separately of the United Kingdom previous to 1854, but the following very important figures are taken therefrom and from Porter's *Progress of the Nation*. They exclude imports and exports of gold and silver :—

Years	Imports (millions)	Exports (millions)	Population (millions)
	average per annum £	average per annum £	average per annum
1801-04	29	39	17
1805-09	28	40	18
1810-12	30	41	19
1813	{ records de- stroyed by fire }	—	—
1814-19	32	44	20
1820-24	33	37	22
1825-29	43	36	23
1830-34	47	39	25
1835-39	57	49	26
1840-44	71	52	27

*The Statistical Abstracts give the figures hereunder.*

1845-49	—	59	28
1850-54	—	84	28
1855-59	169	140	28
1860-64	236	180	29
1865-69	286	230	30
1870	303	244	31
1871	331	284	32
1872	355	315	32
1873	371	311	32
1874	370	298	32
1875-79	375	257	33
1880-84	408	298	35
1885-89	380	287	37
1890	421	328	37
1891	436	309	38
1892	424	292	38
1893	405	277	38
1894	409	274	39

Our exports in 1872 amounted to . . . . .	£ 314,588,000
While in 1894 they had fallen to . . . . .	274,160,000
Showing a decline in 1894, as compared with 1872, of . . . . .	40,428,000

In fact, the exports in 1894 were considerably lower than in any of the years 1871-75, 1880-84, and 1887-93. It is, indeed, startling to find that the exports of twenty-two years ago exceeded those of last year by £40,000,000. These figures are very conclusive evidence of a retrograde movement of no ordinary magnitude. They should



arouse the earnest attention of both Houses of Parliament to the necessity of seriously considering, without prejudice, this alarming condition of trade with a view to the immediate enactment of remedial measures for the mitigation of the evils which are causing these disastrous results. There is a "new cause" at work, of which Mr. Disraeli, speaking in Glasgow in 1873 upon the monetary changes then happening, said: "It is the greatest delusion in the world to attribute the commercial preponderance and prosperity of England to our having a gold standard. . . . It is quite evident we must prepare ourselves for great convulsions in the money market, not occasioned by speculation or any old cause which has been alleged, but by a new cause with which we are not sufficiently acquainted."

If our principal industries, in which a very large amount of capital is invested, and on which millions of persons of both sexes depend, are to continue on British soil, reform in our monetary system is indispensable. The grave dangers present and threatening should stimulate fresh efforts in the direction of educating public opinion as to the pressing necessity for the restoration of the old and rational system of international currency under which trade flourished and developed, and producer as well as consumer were alike prosperous. With a just and equitable monetary standard there would, with the superior competing power of the British race, be no limit to the progress of our trade. The world is expanding in population and commerce by rapid strides. If there had been an international agreement in force, giving a fixed value to gold and silver, it is impossible to estimate how much larger British exports might have been or how much greater their value. During 1890 the gold price of silver advanced from 43½*d.* to 54½*d.* per oz., a rise of 25 per cent., and receded to 45*d.*, or a decline of 15 per cent., within twelve months. Such sudden and violent fluctuations and such uncertainty in the value of the medium through which one-third of the business of the world has to be conducted are most injurious to our trade and ruinous to individual merchants and bankers.

#### BRITISH EXPORTS TO SILVER-USING COUNTRIES AND TO GOLD-USING COUNTRIES.

The table on next page gives the declared value of the total merchandise exported from the United Kingdom to the twelve silver-using countries, and also to gold-using countries, from 1870 to 1893.

*Total declared Value in pounds sterling of British and Irish Produce exported from the United Kingdom to  
Silver-using and Gold-using Countries.*

Date	Java	Philip- pine	Siam	Mexico	Peru	China	Japan	British India	Straits Settle- ments	Ceylon	Hong Kong	Mauritius	Total to silver- using countries	Total to gold standard countries	Grand total of both
	th's'nds	th's'nds	thousands	th's'nds	th's'nds	th's'nds	th's'nds	thousands	thousands	th's'nds	th's'nds	thousands	hundred thousands	hundred thousands	hundred thousands
1870-74	904	514	{ not given }	1,028	2,182	5,805	1,624	20,253	2,296	1,013	3,226	536	393	1953	2347
1875-79	1,756	877	—	770	1,194	4,467	2,390	23,328	2,002	956	3,201	388	413	1601	2014
1880-84	1,998	1,256	44	1,453	785	4,804	2,553	30,242	2,486	797	3,307	436	501	1841	2342
1885-89	1,655	1,041	63	1,115	878	5,584	3,130	31,006	2,386	645	2,724	272	504	1757	2262
1890	1,654	998	76	1,906	1,123	6,609	4,082	33,641	2,883	922	2,528	320	567	2067	2635
1891	2,506	787	99	1,696	1,037	6,457	2,883	31,178	2,464	1,017	2,531	257	529	1943	2472
1892	2,256	726	110	1,298	764	5,776	2,992	27,903	2,092	945	1,800	270	469	1801	2270
1893	2,087	724	86	1,153	791	4,613	3,486	28,776	1,757	900	1,822	305	465	1715	2180

*Increase or Decrease per cent. between the average of 1870-74 as compared with 1893.*

	Increase	Increase	Increase	decrease	decrease	decrease	decrease	decrease	decrease	decrease	decrease	decrease	Increase	decrease	decrease
—	131%	41%	—	12%	64%	21%	115%	42%	23%	11%	44%	43%	18%	12%	7%

The figures have been taken from official returns, and exclude gold and silver.

The result shows a decrease of 7 per cent. in the value of the trade to both gold and silver countries when compared with 1890, but as against the average of 1870-74 there is an increase of 18 per cent. in our shipments to silver countries, while to gold-standard countries there is a decrease of 12 per cent. Between England and the gold countries the rate of exchange is, of course, steady, but in dealing with silver countries our merchants have to contend against the continuously fluctuating gold price of the medium in which trade has to be carried on.

The following is an extract from a letter in the *Economist* of December 1 last, from Mr. A. Emmott, manufacturer at Oldham, bearing on the shrinkage in the value of our exports, &c. :—

*Cotton Cloth Exports in Million of Yards.*

Year	India	Silver countries of East and Mexico	All other countries	Total
1873	990	1,530	1,952	3,482
1894 <sup>1</sup>	2,279	3,038	2,277	5,315
Increase .	130% (nearly)	100%	17%	52%

<sup>1</sup> Ten months actual, two estimated.

In 1873 there were 5,600 miles of railway in India. There are now 18,000 miles. The exports of cotton yarn from India increased from less than 8,000,000 lb. in 1876 to 189,174,726 lb. in 1892, an increase of 2,364 per cent., whilst exports of English yarn have only grown from an average of 206,900,000 lb. per annum in 1871-73 to 228,300,000 in 1891-93, or a beggarly 10 per cent.

Granted that the quantity of our cotton exports has increased largely in the last twenty years, how does the increase compare with the increase of the previous twenty years; and how does the profit to the country in the former period compare with that in the latter?

Year	Yarn	Increase	Cloth, Indian	Increase	Cloth, Eastern countries and Mexico	Increase	Cloth, other countries	Increase	Total, cloth	Increase	Value, all kinds	Increase	Decrease
	mil. lb.	per cent.	mil. yds.	per cent.	mil. yds.	per cent.	mil. yds.	per cent.	mil. yds.	per cent.	mil. £	per cent.	per cent.
1850	131·4	—	314·4	—	425·6	—	932·6	—	1358·2	—	28·25	—	—
Avg. 1871-73	206·9	67	1041·9	231	1540·1	263	1952·5	109	3497·7	179	76·78	171	—
Avg. 1891-93	228·3	10·4	1973·7	89	2723·0	76	2089·9	7	4813·0	37·2	67·04	—	11·5

The growth of our cotton cloth exports in the last twenty years, great as it has been, was eclipsed by the growth of the twenty-three years before.

Year	Exports to India, cotton cloth	Proportion of whole	Exports cotton cloth to Eastern countries and Mexico	Proportion of whole	Exports cotton cloth to other countries	Proportion of whole
1850	million yards 314.4	per cent. 23	million yards 425.6	per cent. 31	million yards 932.6	per cent. 69
Average, 1871-73	1041.9	30	1545.1	44	1952.5	56
Average, 1891-93	1973.7	41	2723.0	56	2089.9	44

The exports of cotton cloth 1871-73 were 10,429,000,000 yards; for 1881-83, 18,740,000,000 yards (increase over 31 per cent.); for 1891-93, 14,358,000,000 yards (increase less than 5 per cent.).

I come now to the more important question of the total profits derived by the country from the cotton trade before 1874, and in the last few years.

The calculation that follows is an estimate. I have again taken the years 1871-73 and 1891-93 inclusive for the comparison. I have assumed that 25 per cent. of the value of the total production is consumed at home. I have taken Mr. Ellison's calculation as to consumption of cotton, and estimated the value of the cotton consumed in accordance with the value of that imported during the year. The result is as follows:—

	1891-93 £	1871-73 £
Average annual exports . . . . .	67,040,000	76,780,000
Estimated home consumption . . . . .	22,346,666	25,593,333
Total value cotton goods . . . . .	89,386,666	102,373,333
Value cotton used in production . . . . .	32,704,000	42,070,000
Margin for wages, expenses, stores, railway carriage, depreciation taxes, and "profits"	56,682,666	60,303,333
Number of hands in cotton factories only . . . . .	about 525,000	about 470,000

Oldham mills spin the yarn which is manufactured in North-east Lancashire into the cloth which forms the bulk of our exports to the East. These mills have been losing money heavily for two years; their shares stand at a discount of 60 per cent. on an average, and the last edition of the *Oldham Chronicle* states that, out of seventy-one companies that have taken stock (in most cases for three months) since the beginning of September, "twelve have made a profit of £4,709, and fifty-nine have declared losses amounting to £43,016."

#### INDIAN MANUFACTURES SUPERSEDE BRITISH GOODS.

The following are the exports of yarn and piece goods from India to China and Japan from 1870-94. It will be observed that for



*Exports of Yarns from India to China, Japan, &c.  
(From the Indian Trade and Navigation Returns.)*

Years	Quantity lb. (000 omitted)	Value rupees (000 omitted)	Average ex- change for year	Sterling value (000 omitted)
				£
1876-77	7,926	36,73	1/8-51	313
1877-78	15,600	68,20	1/8-79	590
1878-79	21,333	88,64	1/7-79	730
1879-80	25,862	1,10,92	1/7-96	922
1880-81	26,901	1,28,25	1/7-96	1,066
1881-82	30,786	1,36,88	1/7-90	1,134
1882-83	45,223	1,81,68	1/7-53	1,478
1883-84	49,876	1,92,61	1/7-54	1,568
1884-85	65,897	2,44,11	1/7-31	1,964
1885-86	78,241	2,75,52	1/6-25	2,095
1886-87	91,803	3,33,68	1/5-44	2,424
1887-88	113,451	4,07,73	1/4-90	2,871
1888-89	128,906	5,20,70	1/4-38	3,553
1889-90	141,962	5,74,92	1/4-57	3,969
1890-91	169,275	6,54,33	1/6-09	4,932
1891-92	161,253	5,77,10	1/4-74	4,025
1892-93	189,174	6,77,34	1/3-	4,233
1893-94	134,066	4,97,41	1/2-84	3,075

*Exports of Piece Goods from India to China, Japan, &c.*

Years	Yards (000 omitted)	Value rupees (000 omitted)	Sterling value (000 omitted)
			£
1876-77	15,544	37,36	319
1877-78	17,545	37,23	322
1878-79	22,661	42,01	346
1879-80	25,800	44,43	369
1880-81	30,424	54,07	449
1881-82	29,911	55,64	461
1882-83	41,563	68,63	558
1883-84	55,613	86,19	701
1884-85	47,968	81,86	658
1885-86	51,577	81,34	618
1886-87	53,416	88,21	641
1887-88	69,485	1,06,74	751
1888-89	70,265	1,08,48	740
1889-90	59,496	90,45	624
1890-91	67,665	1,04,20	785
1891-92	73,383	1,13,42	791
1892-93	79,791	1,22,58	766
1893-94	72,728	1,17,45	726

1890-91 they had increased to over 5,700,000L., while since the closing of the mints they have fallen off considerably. Previous to 1876 English manufactures supplied the bulk of the markets in India and the Far East. The displacement of English manufactures by those of India was investigated by the directors of the Manchester

Chamber of Commerce, and the report adopted by the Chamber in December 1888 says :—

“We are led to the conclusion that the principal cause which has enabled the Bombay spinners to supersede those of Lancashire in exporting yarn to China and Japan is the great fall in Eastern exchange since 1873. . . . It appears that the geographical advantage enjoyed by the Bombay spinner has been lessening, whilst his power to compete with Lancashire has been increasing, &c.

As bearing upon the depression of the cotton trade in Lancashire and its prosperity in the Far East the following extracts are most significant. The *Manchester Guardian* of January 2 last says :—

The results of the working of ninety-three limited cotton-spinning companies in Oldham and the district for the year 1894, and for the third year in succession, show a net loss, but, happily, it is far below the losses of the two preceding years. At the opening of the year the stocktakings showed balances on the right side, but the later results went round to the other side, and helped to swell the huge balances of loss many companies had piled up. The companies whose returns we intend to deal with have a paid-up share capital of £3,874,144 6s. 3½d., and include limited cotton-spinning companies in the Oldham district, Ashton-under-Lyne, Bury, Heywood, and Rochdale. The balance-sheets of these companies, issued between the middle of December 1893 and the end of last month, show that fifty of them made profits amounting to £73,496 3s. 6½d. on the year's operations, while forty-three of them made losses amounting to £89,333 7s. 3d. This gives a net loss of £15,837 3s. 8½d., or 8s. 2d. per cent. on the paid-up share capital. In 1893 the balance of loss for ninety-three companies was £72,767 15s. 6½d., and in 1892, for ninety companies, it amounted to £101,434 8s. 10½d. How the past year's loss of 8s. 2d. per cent. on the share capital compares with previous years will be seen from the following table :—

						£	s.	d.	
1888	.	.	.	.	.	profit	7	8	3 per cent.
1889	.	.	.	.	.	„	6	12	6 „
1890	.	.	.	.	.	„	10	18	0 „
1891	.	.	.	.	.	„	0	6	0 „
1892	.	.	.	.	.	loss	2	15	11 „
1893	.	.	.	.	.	„	1	18	9 „
1894	.	.	.	.	.	„	0	8	2 „

The last issued balance-sheets of the ninety-three companies show that £3,333,162 14s. 2d. is invested with them in the form of loans, upon which an average of 4½ per cent. is paid. This gives a return of £149,992 6s. 5d. on the loan capital, and deducting from this the loss of £15,837 3s. 8½d. on the paid-up share capital of £3,874,144 6s. 3½d. we get the sum of £134,155 2s. 8½d. as the return for the year on the whole of the capital, share, and loan together employed in the working of the ninety-three companies. The total share and loan capital employed is £7,207,307 0s. 5½d.,

and a return of £134,155 2s. 8½*d.* on this amount gives £1 17s. 3*d.* per cent. per annum, or rather under 17½ per cent. The average earnings of the whole of the £7,000,000 for the past three years has only been just over 1 per cent. Going back for the last eleven years it will be found that the annual profit realised on the paid-up share capital of cotton-spinning companies in the Oldham district has averaged about £917 per company, or 2¼ per cent. per annum.

The ruinous results of cotton spinning during the last few years is shown by the list of adverse balances. At the end of 1890 only eight companies had these encumbrances, and they only amounted to the trifling sum of £8,412. There are now sixty-seven concerns with adverse balances, totalling up to no less than £411,316 8s. 0½*d.* How these have advanced year by year, both in number and amount, will be seen by the following figures:—

1890 . . . .	8 companies' adverse balances	£8,412
1891 . . . .	49   "   "   "	£142,767
1892 . . . .	57   "   "   "	£269,252
1893 . . . .	63   "   "   "	£366,800
1894 . . . .	67   "   "   "	£411,316

While the adverse balances have been going up, the reserve funds of the more fortunate companies have been coming down. At the end of 1892 thirty-three companies had credit balances of £80,251, but these were reduced in 1893 to £50,533, appertaining to thirty companies, and at the present time twenty-six companies have credit balances amounting to £42,007.

In the Yokohama Chamber of Commerce Memorial to the London Chamber of May 15 last the position of our commerce with Japan is described as follows:—

Unfortunately, at the present time, we are compelled to regard the situation as graver than ever before, because the recent heavy fall in the gold value of silver opens up an entirely new prospect. Until 1893 the decline in the average gold prices of the commodities imported to the East had kept more than even pace with the fall in silver as measured in gold, but the conditions of production in Europe, after the shrinkage in values that has taken place, are not such that, without grave disaster, prices can follow silver over the precipice it has lately descended. At the present time the silver prices of nearly all articles imported from the West are from 25 to 30 per cent. higher than they were in 1892, and this difference gives a substantial premium to all Eastern competitors.

Japan is eminently in a position to take advantage of the acute condition of affairs now reached, for she has an unlimited command of good and intelligent labour at very low rates of wages, and her supply of coal is ample for her own needs as well as for export. Consequently, with her industries protected by the low exchange, Japan is becoming a great manu-

facturing country, and rapidly advancing to a position of marked prominence in many of the branches of Eastern trade.

Cotton yarns have been and still are amongst the principal imports from England and British India to the Far East, but Japanese spinnings are rapidly growing in favour, not only in Japan, but also in China; and we think it probable that if the silver exchanges remain depressed as at present, these markets will, at no distant date, be closed to all yarns save those of their own manufacture.

In connection with the cotton manufactures there is to be noted a great increase in the import of raw cotton generally, but we anticipate that if Exchange with America remains at a very low level, and the rupee continues to be held above its bullion value, China will eventually furnish to Japan all the cotton she needs except such staple as cannot be grown on Chinese soil. In evidence of this possibility the import of raw cotton from China to Japan has increased from 61,328,021 lb. in 1891 to 95,115,180 lb. in 1893, and is capable of practically unlimited development.

We think it unnecessary to refer in detail to the many other manufactures in which this country is not only supplying home wants, but successfully competing with Europe in the markets of China, the Straits Settlements, and India.

Japan is not deficient in mineral wealth, and the premium given to Japanese coal by the estrangement of silver from gold has resulted in a largely increased export to many quarters, including San Francisco and Bombay, and as it is understood that Japanese shipowners are acquiring steamers specially adapted for this trade, it may be expected to show continued and increasing vitality.

Further, we may point out that the fall in the gold price of silver has directly influenced the gold prices of all commodities imported by silver-using countries. It is only natural that the native consumers of imported articles should resist, as far as they can, any rise in the silver prices of those articles, and therefore, with every fall of silver, there is new pressure upon gold prices, and a tendency still further to contract them. It is not unreasonable to suppose that a fall of gold prices thus generated might extend to many industries having no direct connection with Eastern trade. For the actual course of prices over the twenty years ending December 31, 1892, we refer to the tables appended to Mr. Consul Jamieson's "Report on the General Position which China occupies with regard to the Silver Question."

For the reasons we have indicated we believe that if existing conditions continue, their effects on the commerce of the world will be of a momentous character, whilst if they are to be altered it should be done without further loss of time. Every month of delay in monetary reform does not only a temporary but a permanent injury to the trade of all countries having a gold standard, as although the eventual righting of the silver question may check the further establishment of mills in Japan and China, those already erected will remain keen competitors of the mills and factories of Lan-



cashire and the West, and there will be great difficulty in ever getting back again the trade now being diverted.

Already, under the influence of cheap silver, a large proportion of the trade east of the Suez Canal is finding for itself new channels, which will gradually be closed to Western competition, and we foresee that further persistence in the present monetary policy of Great Britain must entail an injury to the manufactures and industries of the West the extent of which is incalculable.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE CRITICAL POSITION OF BRITISH INDUSTRIES.

British industries depend almost entirely upon supplies of raw material from foreign countries, and for a vast amount of their product customers were formerly found in gold-standard countries. One country after another has imposed protective duties on manufactures as well as on agricultural and most other products. These are largely prohibitive, and necessitate England's fostering new markets, and carefully safeguarding its old customers in silver-standard countries, on whom it has now chiefly to rely. But there can be no doubt that our monetary system now subjects British industries in various ways to very serious disabilities. It does not allow them the same advantages as are possessed by the industries of the silver countries. With the superior physical and intellectual development of the Western races, and their superior competing power over all rivals—other things being equal—British manufacturers should possibly yet, with a single par of exchange all over the world, be able to hold and maintain the status and prestige which they have achieved after such a lengthened period of continuous effort.

When we consider the cotton trade, the disastrous results now attending the Lancashire and other industries speak for themselves, and lead to the inquiry as to whether the British manufacturer, with all his accumulated experience and greater competing power, is not placed at a disadvantage with the Asiatic spinner, exclusive of the economic advantages, such as cheap labour, coal, and local stores. Why has the white spinner to give way to the amateur Oriental spinner? In Oriental countries we are witnessing remarkable industrial progress, and unequalled prosperity among their people, while serious losses are attending similar industries in England; and under the present system there may be a further fall in the present very low level of gold prices, which will still more

prejudice the position of the British manufacturers. What is also of unquestionably great concern to the Empire is that it may lead to the transference of a large part of our principal industries to silver-using countries. So long as the gold value of silver continues to be as it now is, liable to violent fluctuations, the more perilous must become the condition of the principal British industries, and the more impossible must it be to prevent disaster from overtaking them. British labour and gold capital can no longer compete on equal terms with Asiatic labour and silver capital, and the position of British industries is growing more critical every day.

Speaking on the subject of cotton import duties in India a few weeks ago, Mr. A. J. Balfour, M.P., said :—

If we had a reasonable monetary measure, as between England and India, there need have been no deficit in the Indian Budget, . . . no cotton duties, . . . no protection, direct or indirect, in favour of the Indian manufacturer, because . . . the difficulties between England and India are exchange only. . . . If we wish to have our monetary affairs placed upon a solid basis, fitted for the commerce of a country whose commercial relations penetrate to every quarter of the globe, to every nation, to every tribe—if we are to have a currency fitted to carry on those great commercial operations, there must be one settled or international agreement, one which will avoid all those difficulties of exchange . . . and uncertain fluctuations which now afflict us, one that will serve the main purpose intended . . . viz. that of providing a tolerably permanent and a tolerably fixed standard of measure.

Turning to the jute manufacture we find that about thirty years ago nearly the whole of it centred in Dundee, whereas now about one third is conducted on the banks of the Hoogly, near Calcutta. The removal of this trade from our shores has been most detrimental to British interests. Its transfer is unquestionably due in very great measure to the fall in the gold price of silver, and to the subtle advantages arising therefrom in favour of the manufacturer in silver countries. On a falling exchange, *i.e.* when the gold price of silver is declining—and it has been declining for upwards of twenty years—the Dundee manufacturer is placed at a relative disadvantage compared with the Calcutta manufacturer. For example, take one instance, and let it be supposed that both manufacturers buy the raw jute at the same silver price, and that the cost of manufacturing it in both countries is similar. The cost includes (1) jute, (2) wages, and (3) locally produced stores for the mills, and taxes, &c. If each manufacturer realises the same gold price for his product, the Dundee manufacturer closes the transaction at once.

Before the Dundee product arrives in Australia or New York, and before payment can be made in those countries, the gold value of silver falls, and the Calcutta manufacturer consequently thereby receives more silver for the gold price of his product. To that extent does he derive an advantage, for, though he receives a larger number of rupees, he pays away no more for wages, locally produced stores, and taxes. Say, for instance, a ton of manufactures produced in Calcutta is sold for 50*l.*, and that exchange on the day of sale is 1*s.* 4*d.* per rupee; the equivalent would be Rs. 750, of which Rs. 500 would be required to defray the cost of manufacturing, including profit, and that Rs. 250 would represent wages, mill stores, and taxes, all payable in rupees; but before the Calcutta manufacturer is paid in New York or Australia, and before he is able to convert the gold price, 50*l.*, he obtained for his goods, exchange, or the gold price of silver, falls, say, to 1*s.* 2*d.* per rupee. This would give him for his 50*l.* Rs. 857·14, instead of Rs. 750 the surplus of Rs. 107·14, equal to £6 5*s.*, would be a further profit, and additional to what the Dundee manufacturer would receive. To that extent, viz. 12 per cent., does the silver-using country derive an unequal advantage. The more the gold price of silver falls after the sale of the product is effected in sterling, and previous to converting gold into silver, the greater will be his advantage over the British manufacturer, and there are other and more subtle benefits, favourable to the Oriental and detrimental to the home industries, of sufficient importance to explain the transfer of so much of the trade from Dundee to Calcutta.

#### TIN, COAL, AND OTHER INDUSTRIES.

Tin mining has attained large proportions in the Straits, the production having recently increased about 15 per cent. per annum. Speaking before the Currency Commission which recently sat in Singapore, the principal partner of the Tin Smelting Co., which has a large and profitable business there, said: "All I can say is that the present low price of silver, by adding materially to the gains of the producer, enables him to work inferior mines. . . . I should say let things go their way and find their level. If the dollar (which is now at 2*s.*) went down to sixpence we should supply the whole world with tin, nobody else would be able to compete with us." The tin mines in Cornwall and Australia will have to submit to this competition at whatever disadvantage to themselves. If we turn to any other industry, the Asiatic races are enjoying a similar advantage over their Western competitors. In the case of coal, of

which Japan has a very large supply, we find that several large steamship companies have recently contracted for hundreds of thousands of tons of Japanese coal to be delivered in Singapore at  $\$5\frac{1}{2}$  per ton. Allowing that the quality is 20 per cent. under the best Welsh coal, this price at 2s. to the dollar is equivalent to about 18s. per ton, whereas Cardiff coal delivered at Singapore costs about 20s. per ton. The Far East will gradually increase their production of coal, and as the gold price of silver declines their trade will be stimulated, and British competition be placed at a greater disadvantage. As Sir Thomas Sutherland recently remarked at a meeting, there may be some gentlemen present who will live to see Peninsular and Oriental mail steamers built on the Yangtze in China instead of on the Clyde, the Tees, or the Tyne. When we reflect that the purchasing power of gold as measured in silver has increased by 120 per cent. since 1870, we may realise how largely the Asiatic races benefit, and how very serious are the disabilities to which the British people are thus subjected.

Speaking last March at the meeting of the China Mutual Steamship Co., Mr. Maitland remarked that their working expenses had been considerably reduced by the great fall in the gold price of silver, which was not, however, altogether an unmixed good, as the very same cause had brought about an enormous falling off in the British export trade to the Far East. For the repairs of their steamers very large amounts of money were annually needed, and they had already commenced to make the repairs in Singapore, China, and Japan. With the dollar at 2s. the skilled Asiatic will work for a month for less than a skilled British subject will work for a week. The labour leaders in this country are slowly becoming aware of the danger caused by a currency system which is driving work from this country to the extent of millions of pounds sterling per annum, which must seriously reduce wages, and increase the already large numbers of unemployed persons, and they are beginning to favour a policy of monetary reform.

Let me explain that silver will still employ the same quantity of Oriental labour as it did twenty or thirty years ago. The inadequacy of our monetary standard therefore allows Eastern countries to now employ at least 100 per cent. more of labour for a given amount of gold than they could do twenty-five years ago. To make this important statement quite clear allow me to give the following example: In 1870 ten rupees were the equivalent of one sovereign under the joint standard of gold and silver, and paid twenty men for one day. To-day twenty rupees are about the equivalent of one



sovereign, so that for twenty rupees forty men can be engaged for one day, instead of twenty men as in 1870. Against such a disability British labour cannot possibly compete. On the other hand the effect of this disability is that gold prices of commodities have fallen to nearly one half of their former level, while in Oriental countries silver prices are still practically in most cases on their old level. Therefore the more gold appreciates, the greater will be the tendency to still further lower gold prices.

#### INDIA'S APPEAL FOR RESTORATION OF THE JOINT STANDARD.

India being a large customer for the product of British industries, the external trade of India, the solvency of the Government of India, and the gold value of silver are inextricably intertwined, so much so that a blow struck at one of them tends to profoundly injure the other three. You may therefore permit me to refer briefly to the important action taken in India in connection with the currency problem.

In 1892 and 1893 the Viceroy and his Council became more alarmed than before at the ever-increasing burden of its gold liabilities, and at the grave danger of having to meet still heavier losses in exchange through a further fall in the gold price of silver. They therefore urged, with great earnestness, the British Government to sanction some remedial measures to avert the threatening dangers.

On June 21, 1892, the Viceroy addressed a despatch to the Home Government in which he said :—

We fear that a refusal on the part of Great Britain to adopt the system of double legal tender may be fatal to an international agreement for the free coinage of both gold and silver on a sufficiently wide basis and we believe that a limited increase in the quantity of silver used as currency will exercise a very trifling influence in raising or preventing a fall in the gold price of silver, while it will be wholly without effect in the far more important matter of preventing fluctuation in the relative value of the two metals. We greatly regret this state of affairs, both because we believe that no other country is so deeply interested in, or would benefit so greatly by, a uniform standard of value throughout the civilised world as Great Britain, with her vast system of trade and the great extent of her finance, and because the final rejection of an international agreement for free coinage of both gold and silver will leave India face to face with a problem of the greatest difficulty.

We take this opportunity of again calling your Lordship's special attention to the extreme gravity of the present position—a position so fraught with danger that inaction involves at least as great risk and as

much responsibility as would the undertaking of an enterprise even more hazardous than the introduction of a gold standard into India.

The Indian Government had previously pointed out that there were three courses open : (1) The remonetisation of silver by international agreement, and its restoration to its former position as the standard of value concurrently with gold, at a fixed ratio, in the principal countries of the world ; (2) an agreement between the Government of British India and the Government of the United States for an increased use of silver in the latter country, while the Indian mints were to remain open ; or (3) the abolition of silver as the Indian standard and the substitution of gold, the transition from silver to gold to be made at about the then current relative values of the two metals. The second of these two proposals seems to have met with no support, and Her Majesty's Government refused to consider the first, adhering firmly to an exclusively gold standard, although the International Monetary Conferences in 1867, in 1878, in 1881, and again in 1892 had shown the increasing importance of the question. The steady and continuous fall in gold prices of commodities in England, and the serious troubles between British labour and gold capital, had caused many impartial economists throughout the world, and almost all professors of political economy in Great Britain, to realise the necessity for some amendment in our monetary standard. For many years the Government of India had vainly urged upon Her Majesty's Government the establishment by international agreement of the former joint standard, and they only asked for the creation in India of a gold standard in default of any concerted action for the rehabilitation of silver. The numerous petitions from Chambers of Commerce and other public bodies in the Far East to the British Government, praying for a remedy for the evils, gave the first place in their recommendations to the restoration of the former parity of gold and silver as the only effective remedy, but Her Majesty's Government rejected every recommendation in favour of the rehabilitation of silver.

A proposal for a gold standard was sent, in 1886, by the India Office for the consideration of the Government of India. Lord Dufferin's Government negatived the proposal, and in summing up the objections thereto wrote :—

We are necessarily opposed to the adoption of artificial methods of maintaining the gold value of the rupee, the consequence of which, to many foreign interests, would be rather favourable than otherwise, and to ourselves might prove extremely prejudicial. As we believe our true remedy lies in obtaining concerted action with England, we would take

no measure of which one result, among many, might be to hinder a clear conception of the economical consequences of the present relations of gold and silver.

Lord Lansdowne, ex-Viceroy of India, speaking in the House of Lords in 1894, made an attempt to dispel the grave apprehensions entertained as to the future of India's trade with China and the Far East. But the report of the Imperial Maritime Customs on "The Foreign Trade of China for 1893" records interesting facts concerning Indo-China and Anglo-China trade, and states :—

The dislocation in exchange brought about by according a fictitious value to the rupee and closing the Indian mints to the coinage of silver has resulted, as predicted, in a very serious falling off in the entire trade from India to China. . . . The trade in Indian yarn has undergone a sudden and severe check, the quantity having receded from 1,254,400 piculs (74,665 tons) to 937,800 piculs (55,820 tons), or a decrease of 316,600 piculs (18,845 tons). Raw cotton from India has been similarly affected, the year's supply being only 53,400 piculs, or just about half the quantity imported during the previous twelve months. The deficiency in these two Indian staples alone represents a decrease in the value of the Indo-China import trade of over Hk. Tls. 4,745,000 (\$7,259,850, or Rs. 15,971,670), [say (at the exchange of 1893) £998,229].

It might have been some satisfaction had the decrease in the Indo-China trade been compensated for by an expansion in British trade with China and the Far East, but the contrary has been the result, and the report goes on to say :—

Reference to the list of imports from European gold-currency countries discloses an unparalleled falling off in all kinds of textile fabrics. In such staples as grey shirtings, which appreciated in price during 1893 as much as 36 per cent. per piece, the supply falls short of that of the previous year by 2,158,000 pieces (33 per cent.); white shirtings receded to the extent of 465,000 pieces (20 per cent.), while the price advanced 35½ per cent.; and T-cloths by 552,000 pieces (27 per cent.)—the total importation for the year, 1,537,000 pieces, being less than in any period during the decade—the price of 7 lb. and 8 lb. goods increasing 12 per cent. and 17 per cent. respectively, as compared with quotations in 1892. . . . Reference to the numerous commodities brought from silver-standard countries south of China indicates a general increase in quantity and value, the so-called depreciated silver in no way affecting the Asiatic division of China's import trade. In connection with the decline in the value of China's foreign import trade, it may not be out of place to remark that to the observer in the East it seems inexplicable that the gold-currency countries, while striving to extend their trade, should resolutely ignore the fact, so clearly demonstrated by the decline in the demand for piece goods, that to the millions in China the tael or ounce or

silver is still a tael of undiminished purchasing power, whether the sterling value be 6s. or 3s., and that so soon as the discredited tael fails to buy the same quantity of foreign goods as heretofore, the consumer ceases to be a customer, and will supply his own wants by manufacturing textiles from home-grown materials. Indications are not wanting that the erection of cotton mills at ports extending from the Gulf of Tonking to Chungking (some 900 miles up the Yangtze) is contemplated, and there is abundant evidence of great local activity in that direction. A nation whose inexhaustible supply of labourers excites such alarm among Western peoples and Governments is not likely to prove less formidable when it brings similar forces of cheap silver-paid skilled operatives into competition with the textile industries of the gold-wage-earning classes of Europe and America, and the effect will be felt more acutely and cause greater consternation than the presence of Chinese labour abroad whenever it comes into rivalry with the handicrafts of Occidental races.

The condition of Indian finance is known to be precarious owing chiefly to the increasing cost in silver of India's gold obligations, together with the perilous growth of Indian State expenditure. On the latter subject Sir David Barbour spoke at the Mansion House last May in very positive terms, while another ex-finance member of the Viceroy's Council in India (Sir Auckland Colvin) wrote to the same effect in the *Nineteenth Century* of October last. The masses of the population are poor, and they are being further impoverished by additional taxation to provide for the increasing burdens caused by the falling exchange. Additional taxes may lead to serious discontent among the people, for it is generally believed that the extreme limit of taxation has been reached. The position of the Indian Government may be described as that of a man thrown into a turbulent stream and prohibited from getting out by the broad and obvious landing-stage, but compelled to struggle out up crumbling and decaying banks.

### CHAPTER III.

#### GROWTH AND PROSPERITY OF ORIENTAL INDUSTRIES.

The increase of spinning and weaving cotton mills in India has been most marked. The companies were paying dividends of from 10 to 20 per cent. per annum before the closing of the Indian mints. Their prosperity had been phenomenal, which is very strong evidence that they enjoyed more than the advantage derived from their geographical situation. In the decennial report issued by the India Office a table is given showing the yearly progress in the industry :—



	1881-82	1891-92	Increase
Number of mills . . . . .	62	127	104 per cent.
Capital invested . . . . .	Rs. 6,847,100	12,000,000	78 " "
Hands . . . . .	52,231	117,922	125 " "
Looms . . . . .	14,385	24,670	71 " "
Spindles . . . . .	1,550,944	3,272,988	111 " "

More recent publications state the position up to the end of 1894, and give the number of mills at 141, looms 31,709, and spindles 3,726,914. The capital and number of hands now employed are believed to have also largely increased.

The divergence between the standard moneys of the East and West is seen in trade and commerce, and it would seem that it must inevitably lead to the extinction of the bulk of the principal manufacturing trades in England, in so far as they supply Eastern countries, and must impel the Oriental races to depend chiefly on the product of their own industries, and to do without the product of the industrial labour of British subjects. This transfer from our shores to Eastern countries of industrial trade in various branches has been going on for some time, and when once acclimatised, no power on earth, if our monetary law is continued, will be strong enough to again divert these trades from their new locations in India, China, and Japan back to their former British channels. The more divergent gold and silver become, the more will the economic advantages favour the Asiatic race, and the economic disadvantages hamper the industries of the British people.

Although the transfer of some of our manufacturing industries to Oriental countries, where the conditions are suitable, might sooner or later have taken place, the transfer would, but for the great divergence between gold and silver, and the inadequacy of our monetary system, probably have been delayed for several generations. The downward course and the extreme uncertainty of, as well as the violent fluctuations in, the gold price of silver since 1872 have inflicted heavy losses on merchants, banks and traders, and on the enormous trade between the United Kingdom, British India, and the Far East, while the Government of India has also been adversely affected.

The sale of the bills of the India Council in London on India from March 31, 1869, to March 31, 1894, are as follows (the figures are from the India Office): Amount received in sterling £337,717,923, amount of bills drawn in London in rupees 4,267,092,150, and the additional amount of rupees required to be drawn as compared with exchange at 2s. to the rupee is rupees 889,875,000 at 1s. 2d. £51,909,375.

The following figures, taken from the Indian trade returns, exhibit a very marvellous expansion in the exports of produce and manufactures from India to silver-using countries. The returns give the figures for 1870-84 in sterling which have been converted into rupees at the exchange of 2s. per rupee.

*Value of Exports of Produce and Manufactures (excluding British and Colonial) from British India to Silver-using Countries.*

Years ending 31 March.	Mauritius. Tens of thousands of rupees	Ceylon. Tens of thousands of rupees	Straits. Tens of thousands of rupees	China and Hong Kong. Tens of thousands of rupees	Japan. Tens of thousands of rupees	Java. Tens of thousands of rupees	Siam. Tens of thousands of rupees	Total. Tens of thousands of rupees	Opium is included in the preceding total and amounts to tens of thousands of rupees
1870-74	629	1,457	1,585	12,344	2	42	26	16,085	11,722
1875-79	976	2,165	2,263	12,360	15	25	32	17,836	12,176
1880-84	744	1,613	3,007	13,965	168	26	29	19,552	12,626
1885-89	808	1,871	3,673	13,068	535	25	48	20,028	10,655
1889-90	1,016	2,195	4,537	13,802	1,219	32	62	22,863	10,116
1890-91	1,093	2,526	5,500	14,296	1,210	34	63	24,722	9,262
1891-92	1,158	2,770	4,998	13,711	1,290	63	42	24,032	9,562
1892-93	999	3,147	4,441	14,402	1,610	82	53	24,734	9,255
<i>Increase per cent. between the average of 1870-74 as compared with 1892-93.</i>									<i>Decrease</i>
	59	116	180	17	80,400	95	104	54	21%

**INJURY TO INDIAN INTERESTS, AND BOUNTY OFFERED TO CHINA AND JAPAN.**

The Indian millowner found customers in the Straits, China, and Japan for considerable quantities of his manufactures. They paid him in silver, and when the Indian mints were open to free coinage, he could import it into India free of duty, and receive from the mint 220 rupees for every 100 dollars. But since the closing of the mints, dollars and silver imported into India are subject to an import duty of 5 per cent., and are not received, as formerly, at the mints for coinage. The best that can be done is to sell them in the Indian market as so much merchandise, and now they do not realise more than about 185 rupees per 100 dollars. The difference or loss between 220 rupees and 185 rupees per 100 dollars is about 18 per cent., which the Indian millowner has to face. He can only recoup himself by economising in the cost of production, and he has benefited largely by greatly reduced transport

charges between Bombay, China, and Japan, owing to a "war of freight rates" which has been going on for some time between several powerful steamship companies and a line of steamers said to be subsidised by the Japanese Government. Further, the Chinese and Japanese buyers have been required for the time being to pay higher prices than formerly for Indian goods. The "war of freight rates" may come to an end, and transport charges may again rise from their present level. The Chinese will ultimately grow their own opium, and they and the Japanese will only continue paying abnormal prices for Indian products and manufactures until their own mills already built and those now in course of construction are able to provide for the requirements of their own vast and expanding markets. When China and Japan cease buying the product of Indian industries, the Bombay millowners may find markets in India; but how will the balance of Indian trade be affected when the export of Indian manufactures to the Straits, China, and Japan cease? From the returns previously referred to, India's exports to silver-using countries for 1892-93 amounted to Rs. 247,340,000, which, at 220 rupees per 100 dollars, would have equalled 112,427,273 dollars. If this amount of dollars were now shipped from the Farther East, they would realise as merchandise in India about 185 rupees for every 100 dollars, only 207,990,455 rupees. The difference between these two amounts is rupees 39,350,000, or at 1s. 1d. £2,131,458.

China and Japan, for the time being, must pay much higher prices for Indian goods than the real cost plus a reasonable profit to the producer, if Indian manufacturers, merchants, and traders are to receive the like number of rupees as formerly. The closing of the mints, therefore, has really given an inducement of about 18 per cent., or £2,131,000 per annum, to China and Japan to manufacture and produce for their own requirements, and they have not been slow to take advantage of this bounty.

#### CLOSING OF THE INDIAN MINTS AND CHINESE AND JAPANESE MANUFACTURES.

It is not easy to define how the Indian currency now stands, but so far the movement towards a gold standard without a gold currency, while it has maintained the gold price of the coined rupee higher than its metallic value, is likely to lead to untoward consequences. If the experiment is continued indefinitely the tendency will be to force China and Japan to manufacture for their own requirements, and subsequently become competitors against England

and India in supplying the markets of the East, including those of India, Burmah, the Straits, Siam, Cochin China, Java, the Philippine Islands, and ultimately of Europe itself.

Lord Herschell's committee, specially appointed to consider the application for relief of the Indian Government, acquiesced the closing of the Indian mints to the coinage of silver, and the taking of steps towards the establishment in India of a gold standard. Before that committee many men were examined of great experience in mercantile affairs, in exchange, and in the movements and vicissitudes of Eastern trade in all its branches, and they foretold that the closing of the Indian mints to the coinage of silver would result in a further heavy fall in the gold price of silver; that the change would not have the anticipated effect of raising the gold price of the rupee or of permanently maintaining it at 1s. 4d.; that it would paralyse the valuable trade between India and the Straits Settlements, China, and Japan, which constituted the bulk of the surplus export trade on which India depends for the payment of her external gold debt; that while the fall in the gold price of silver had helped materially to transfer the manufacturing trade in yarn from England to India, the closing of the Indian mints would tend ultimately to injure Indian industries by stimulating the Chinese and Japanese to employ their extremely cheap labour and fuel and unlimited resources in raw material, in undertaking for themselves the manufacture of yarn and cotton piece goods; that the valuable opium trade must suffer severely and run the risk of ultimate extinction by the encouragement given to the growth and preparation of opium in China; and that while England was urgently seeking new markets in every direction for her manufactures, the Imperial Government in closing the Indian mints to silver would deal a deadly blow to the standard money of her best customers, which must hasten the closing against her of her most valuable markets, and tend, and tend strongly, to convert in time her largest purchasers into her most dangerous competitors. Notwithstanding this evidence the Indian Legislative Council, with the sanction of the Imperial Government, in despair of any adequate solution closed the Indian mints to the coinage of silver in June 1893, and thereby uncoined silver was reduced in India to the position of merchandise. This endeavour to limit the number of rupees in the country, and thus raise their gold price to 1s. 4d. per rupee, coupled with the action of the India Office in refusing to sell Council Bills on India at the market price, reversed the position, and by the end of the following December the balance of trade had



turned against India. Its gold indebtedness has in consequence been increased by £10,000,000, and the gold price of silver has fallen lower than ever, while gold prices of commodities in England declined in December last to the lowest point on record. Further, the Government of India has for revenue purposes been compelled to levy an import duty of 5 per cent. on the importation of silver into India. It has also for the purposes of revenue, under instructions from the Imperial Government, had to impose an import duty of 5 per cent. on Manchester cotton goods, as well as an excise duty on the finer Indian manufactures, the lower qualities to remain untaxed. The Indian Finance Minister (Sir James Westland) stated that he could not recommend the latter enactment on its merits, while the former may unfortunately tend to still further protect and encourage Oriental industries to the ultimate injury of British textile manufactures.

#### VAST INDUSTRIAL FUTURE FOR CHINA.

Unfortunately for themselves my Chinese friends have been slow to adopt Western methods of any kind. Time is no great object, and hurry is not known to them. So far, they have made but a beginning in the construction of spinning and weaving factories. On the river Yangtze and in the neighbourhood of Shanghai some five mills are already working, and others are in course of construction. It is estimated that they will contain about 200,000 spindles, and some of them have commenced work. The capital employed is entirely native, and with peace restored in these regions there is, with honest capable management, while our present monetary system continues, really no limit to the expansion and development of industries in Oriental countries. The Chinese are not lacking in enterprise, but their efforts have been repressed by the official classes, who are opposed to progress of any kind. The outcome of the present war may help to relieve the Chinese people from the trammels of the mandarins. China's mineral and other resources are known to be enormous, and at the very door they have millions of acres of land admirably adapted to the cultivation of cotton, which though of short staple is suitable for mixing with other qualities. In the Shanghai River in December 1893 there were at one time no less than five ocean-going steamers taking in cargoes of China-grown cotton for transportation to Japan, there to be converted by Japanese mills and Japanese hands into yarn and cloth. The Japanese are now importing for their mills, cotton direct from America and elsewhere. The deplorable war

now raging will temporarily retard the development of most of her local industries, but there can be no doubt that the great empires of China and Japan have before them an unlimited industrial future, and the longer England delays in restoring the old partnership between the precious metals by international agreement—and it is only England which blocks the way—the greater may be the development of Oriental industries, and the greater must be the sufferings and disasters attending British labour, while the effect upon gold capital must also be disastrous and destructive to its profitable employment. After this terrible awakening, should China, with her 300 millions of intensely industrious people, open her vast inland provinces by the introduction of railways, her interior waterways to steam traffic, and her boundless resources to development, it is impossible to form an estimate of the consequences. It would mean the discovery of practically a new hemisphere, thickly populated with industrious races, and abounding in agricultural, mineral, and other resources; but so far from the opening of China, which we may reasonably hope will be one of the results of the present war, being a benefit to British manufactures, unless some change is made, and that soon, in our monetary standard, the Celestial Empire, which has been the scene of so many of our industrial victories, will only be the field of our greatest defeat.

#### GREAT EXPANSION OF JAPANESE INDUSTRIES.

The neighbourhood of Osaka and Kioto is now a surprising spectacle of industrial activity. In a very brief period of time no less than fifty-nine cotton spinning and weaving mills have sprung into existence there, with the aid of upwards of twenty millions of dollars, entirely native capital. They now have 770,874 spindles, and in May last competent authorities estimated the annual output of these mills at over 500,000 bales of yarn, valued roughly at forty millions of dollars, or at the present exchange, say, four million pounds sterling. In short, Japanese industries, not only spinning and weaving, but of all classes, have increased by leaps and bounds. They have already carried their success to a point from which they may to a considerable extent disregard British industrial competition; and this will continue, so long as our industries are compelled to struggle with all the disadvantages of an inadequate monetary system. Japan has had the wisdom to continue on a basis of silver money, and to receive the great benefits which this yields under existing circumstances.

A political revolution attended by deep and far-reaching consequences to the British race was witnessed, in the autumn of last year, in the Farthest East. The Empire of Japan made a bid to take a place in the ranks of the great Powers of the world. Less than thirty-five years ago the Japanese were in a state of practical seclusion. Within that short period they have assimilated European knowledge, mastered European science, and with the assistance of European employées adopted Western methods and Western appliances to an astonishing extent. This extraordinary progress in the arts and sciences, and in the development of their country, as well as its organisation in civil, military, and naval directions, amply account for their present successes. They are, like the Chinese, extremely industrious, and are full of commercial enterprise and progress. Japan's exports have increased from \$16,000,000 in 1868 to \$90,000,000 in 1893, while her imports have grown from \$11,000,000 in 1868 to \$88,000,000 in 1893. Formerly China and Japan took all the manufactured goods they required from Great Britain, and at a later time partly from India.

In his Report to the Foreign Office on Trade at Hiogo for the year 1892, Her Majesty's Consul includes a return of the dividends paid in the preceding year by twenty-one local mills.

"The average was over 17 per cent., the lowest being 8 per cent., and the highest 28 per cent. per annum;" and he adds:—"The cotton-spinning mills throughout Japan have done remarkably well," and, "both here and elsewhere in this empire the results of business have been decidedly and largely in favour of the country, . . . and the Japanese have again been most unquestionably the greatest gainers by the results of foreign trade."

To emphasise this statement, it is well to quote the opinion of the editor of the *Japan Daily Mail*, an authority on these and other matters, when he says, writing on the subject of a certain agitation against the immediate opening up of the empire to foreigners:—

"The major part of the profits have hitherto gone, and are steadily going, into Japanese pockets. For every one foreigner that has grown rich by that trade, for every one foreigner that has acquired even a moderate competence by it, ten, ay, twenty, Japanese owe to it a condition of greater or less opulence. Round the settlements there have grown up flourishing towns and prosperous communities, where in former times there were only unconsidered wastes or squalid hamlets. These facts are not to be ignored or explained away. The Japanese merchant has not been ousted from the trade inaugurated by foreigners. On the contrary, he holds a stronger position than ever in that trade. The profits of the commerce in which foreigners engage have not been monopolised by them. On the contrary, many Japanese have grown rich, while the

foreigner toils on with a bare competence. Has the competition of foreigners in the country proved injurious to the development of national commerce? On the contrary, has not the commerce in which foreigners are engaged grown from a cipher to 170,000,000 yens [equal to £85,000,000] annually in thirty years, and does not the lion's share of the gains come into Japanese pockets?"

In his report for 1893—and it is the latest published—Her Majesty's Consul at Hiogo writes:—

Owing to the demand created by the numerous cotton-spinning mills in this country the business in this staple is naturally on the increase. In 1883 the quantity imported was 2,808,348 lb., valued at 247,506 dollars, whereas the amount in 1893 was 154,442,368 lb., value 16,151,570 dollars.

(The *Japan Gazette* of a later date states:—Eleven mills paid an average dividend of 16 per cent. per annum for the first half of 1894, as compared with 12 per cent. per annum for the same period in 1893.) Her Majesty's Consul continues:—

"Though increased in volume and largely in excess of 1892, the foreign trade of this district has not been remunerative to foreigners. . . . The condition of things brought about by what some term the appreciation of gold, others the depreciation of silver, and the incalculable harm being constantly and in a growing manner inflicted on English industries and shipping is aptly described in the following extract from a circular letter issued by the Shanghai branch of the 'China Association.' This letter, be it observed, also disposes of the fallacious notion that the trade of India is of more importance to Great Britain than the trade of the Far East; the total India trade for 1891 was £110,000,000, that for the Far East £130,000,000.

"The medium of exchange in these countries is silver employed in the shape of coin, as rupees and dollars, or as bullion; its purchasing power in these countries having throughout the period of gold appreciation remained practically unchanged.

"When, by means referred to, silver was maintained at a reasonable ratio with the gold currency of the West, foreign commerce flourished, and gave promise of enormous extension. When the tie between the metals was dissolved that commerce became disorganised; each year has seen greater difficulties, and at the present time the position has become intolerable.

"When once Eastern nations begin to invest in manufactures, English industries will be confronted with powerful, and it may well be invincible, competitors. Not only will the mills, workshops, and mines of England suffer, but the decline of exportation to the East will deprive millions of tons of shipping of occupation, and the capital value represented by these great interests must inevitably suffer enormous depreciation."

As the inevitable result of the increase in the cotton-spinning industry the importation of cotton yarn generally, and English more particularly,



has fallen off; formerly there was an all-round demand for yarn, now sales are restricted to the highest counts.

This country has, however, immense advantages—machinery of the best and latest kind, and a plentiful supply of cheap labour, extremely cheap fuel, no factory regulations such as those meeting the English manufacturer on all sides (if a hand chooses and is able to work twelve to fourteen hours there is nobody to say nay).

The Government is strongly urged to remove all duties in connection with the spinning industry, and so assist the nation in the endeavour to secure the enormous markets of China.

The duty referred to on the export of yarn has been taken off by the Japanese Government, and the Bill abolishing it came into force on July 1 last, while the new treaty recently entered into by England with Japan raises the duties to a higher level than that now in force on cotton goods imported into Japan. Thus the latter, whether Indian or British, will be placed at an increased disadvantage, which must seriously aggravate the already crippled position of our home industries.

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### THE DIVERGENCE BETWEEN GOLD AND SILVER A NATIONAL CALAMITY.

The divergence now existing between the two precious metals is a matter of the greatest possible public moment; indeed, it is one of the most important questions of the century. It vitally concerns the welfare of the people of Europe, America, the Indian Empire, the British Colonies, and many other countries. It is a calamity to our trade, to our industries, and to our Empire. Gold is the money of the West, and silver is the money of the East. The continuance of our present monetary system must inevitably cause estrangement in regard to trade and commerce between the two hemispheres, and lead to our principal manufacturing industries being superseded and displaced by the establishment of mills and other industries in Oriental countries. The evils arise out of our currency, and in consequence of one country after another having adopted the same system, thus breaking the link connecting the moneys minted from the two precious metals. When France, and later on the Latin Union, of which she was a member, maintained the value of gold and silver at the then agreed ratio, the wages of European and Asiatic labour adjusted themselves on that basis, and the prices of commodities in gold and silver using countries were kept on a reasonably stable level. On this old basis it is known that Asiatic labour was considerably cheaper than European labour.

The dissolution of the partnership led to a general scarcity of gold money, and the inexorable law of supply and demand which disregards all Acts of Parliament rendered a rise in the purchasing power of gold inevitable. With an enormous increase in the demands upon gold from 1871 till now, estimated at £250,000,000 on the part of countries which were not on the gold standard before 1871, together with increasing populations and expanding trade, a general fall in gold prices and shrinkage in gold values were bound to ensue. Had silver not been demonetised, the production of gold in the world from 1872 to 1894, say £500,000,000, would have been available for the countries which, previous to that date, were alone on the gold standard. In December last prices of commodities touched the lowest point on record, but whether they may still go lower it is quite impossible to predict. No act of any Legislature can exempt gold from the influences of economic law which governs the value of labour and the prices of commodities. It is no easy matter for men to find the requisite time to study the monetary question or to comprehend a subject so complex. It is a task to persuade the ignorant man that the sun does not move round the earth, causing the vicissitudes of day and night, light and darkness, but that the earth turns round its own axis. It goes against his daily observation; and what you tell him about the earth and its axis, and so forth, only sounds like an attempt to puzzle him and reason him out of his senses. He "sees" the sun go round the earth—he believes his own eyes—and to him there is an end of it. His error is natural enough. He takes it for granted that he himself is standing still; while, in fact, he is being whirled through space with inconceivable velocity. So it is with gold. It seems to the uninformed observer that a sovereign is always a sovereign, and that it never changes. What he does not readily grasp is that the sovereign without changing in weight or quality may change in its purchasing power in regard to commodities. He does not clearly comprehend that sixty sovereigns will to-day purchase as much on an average of the leading articles of trade as 100 sovereigns did twenty-five years ago, nor does he understand that if there had been an adequate supply of money, the leading articles which are now worth only £60 would have been worth £100.

#### LARGE INCREASE IN THE PURCHASING POWER OF GOLD AND GENERAL FALL IN GOLD PRICES.

The enormous rise in the value of gold has been mainly instrumental in causing a great financial and commercial crisis, as well as

widespread suffering throughout the Australian Colonies, which is reacting seriously on the Mother Country. Our own trade, agricultural, and other industries have received a rude shock ; in fact, have been completely paralysed for the time being, and the evil consequences attending the great rise in the value of our standard has inflicted serious injury in every part of Her Majesty's dominions. Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Seyd realised the gravity of the monetary disruption, and the latter made the following most remarkable forecast in 1871 :—

It is a great mistake to suppose that the adoption of the gold valuation by other States besides England will be beneficial. It will only lead to the destruction of the *monetary equilibrium* hitherto existing, and cause a fall in the value of silver, from which England's trade and the Indian silver valuation will suffer more than all other interests, grievous as the general decline of prosperity all over the world will be.

The strong doctrinism existing in England as regards the gold valuation is so blind that when the time of depression sets in there will be this special feature: The economical authorities of the country will refuse to listen to the cause here foreshadowed; every possible attempt will be made to prove that the decline of commerce is due to all sorts of causes and irreconcilable matters. The workman and his strikes will be the first convenient target; then speculation and over-trading will have their turn. Later on, when foreign nations, unable to pay in silver, have recourse to protection; when a number of other secondary causes develop themselves; then many would-be wise men will have the opportunity of pointing to specific reasons which in their eyes account for the falling off in every branch of trade. Many other allegations will be made totally irrelevant to the real issue, but satisfactory to the moralising tendency of financial writers. The great danger of the time will then be that, among all this confusion and strife, England's supremacy in commerce and manufactures may go backwards to an extent which cannot be redressed when the real cause becomes recognised, and the natural remedy is applied.

In the House of Commons on February 28, 1893, Mr. Gladstone said :—

What you want in a standard of value to make it do its work properly are fixity, steadiness, stability, and continuity. You want its properties to be such that what it is to-day it shall be to-morrow, and what it is to-morrow it shall be the next day. Fixity and invariability are the first elements of a standard of value.

A perfect measure of value is a chimera, like the philosopher's stone which men must seek for in vain. Gold does not apparently change its price, that is to say, its money value, because the law has fixed it at £3 17s. 10½*d.* per oz., from which it is impossible to vary. No

matter what gold costs to produce or in what quantity it is produced, it is still £3 17s. 10½*d.*, no more and no less. To ask why gold continues at this price is just as absurd as it is to ask why a foot continues to be equal to twelve inches, or why two and two continue to make four. To produce one ounce of gold may cost more or less, but its price is £3 17s. 10½*d.* Why was it fixed at this very odd sum? The question is natural, but the answer is humiliating in the extreme. For centuries previous to and at the date the standard was fixed, European Governments were guilty of cheating their comparatively uninformed subjects by debasing the coins of their countries. To assist in this work they concluded to introduce still more mystery into the standard, and the business of coinage. However satisfactory to our countrymen our system of 1819 may have then seemed, we now see that its success was entirely owing to the maintenance of the joint standard by France. At that date our trade amounted in imports to £31,000,000, exports to £35,000,000, and population to twenty-one millions. Our monetary system has now most assuredly neither fixity nor invariability, and is unstable in the highest degree. Gold has advanced in value upwards of 65 per cent. since 1867-77 as measured in commodities, or, in other words, a given amount of gold will to-day purchase 65 per cent. more of average commodities than it did twenty-five years ago. When in partnership up to 1873, gold and silver fulfilled the duties required of them, but though they yielded a reasonable level of prices, and universal prosperity, they gave the world none too much currency.

The following table demonstrates beyond any doubt that the value of gold in relation to commodities has enormously increased.

#### INDEX NUMBERS OF THE GOLD PRICES OF FORTY-FIVE COMMODITIES.

The *Times* published on 11th ult. Mr. Sauerbeck's index numbers of the gold prices of forty-five commodities, which are as follows:—

(1867-77 . . . =100):—	1888 . . . =70
1873 . . . =111	1889 . . . =72
1879 . . . = 83	1890 . . . =72
1880 . . . = 88	1891 . . . =72
1884 . . . = 76	1892 . . . =68
1885 . . . = 72	1893 . . . =68
1886 . . . = 69	1894 . . . =63
1887 . . . = 68	

Mr. Sauerbeck states:—

The average index number of prices for 1894 is fully 7 per cent. below that of the preceding year, and 37 per cent. below the standard period



1867-77. The year 1894 closed at the lowest point known, viz. 60. This is a fall of 10 per cent. below the gold prices of forty-five commodities at December 31, 1893. The average price of silver in 1894 was about 29*d.* per oz. . . . The index numbers are as follows :—60·84*d.* per oz. = 100, being the parity of 15½ silver to 1 gold.

Average 1893 . . .	58·6	End of 1893 . . .	52·2
„ 1894 . . .	47·7	„ 1894 . . .	44·8

The gold price of silver had fallen ten days ago to 27¼*d.* ; in other words, gold has risen in value, or its purchasing power over silver has increased, by 120 per cent. as compared with 1870.

Our Customs returns show a falling off of about £33,000,000 in the net imports of gold into the United Kingdom in the last twenty years, as compared with the previous twenty years, and along with this we have an extraordinary shrinkage in the value of trade, an unprecedented fall in gold prices of all commodities, disastrous results attending most of our industries, and a large number of unemployed. In India and the Far East, on the other hand, the net imports of silver have continued tolerably steady for the last thirty years, while during the same period silver prices of most commodities have continued comparatively stable. The low prices in gold countries have brought general disaster and ruin ; while the stable silver prices in India and the Far East have brought great and unprecedented prosperity.

Since the monetary disruption in 1873 silver countries have been cut off from any fixed monetary relationship with the West, and the continued absence of some common par of exchange in the world is rapidly alienating the Eastern from the Western hemisphere in trade, in commerce, and in many other ways. In 1666 England's mints were open to the unrestricted coinage of both precious metals ; gold and silver when coined were full legal tender : this system prevailed in England to 1816 with satisfactory results ; in 1816 Great Britain adopted the single gold standard ; it has since continued in force, excepting in 1817-18, when it was repealed and withdrawn, to be re-enacted in 1819. The Act of 1666 which gave the joint standard was repealed in 1819. It probably did not occur to either Lord Liverpool or Sir Robert Peel that other nations would adopt England's monetary policy. At all events no such intention seems to have been apparent at that time. Between 1819 and 1871 the major portion of the trade and finance of the world had found its way into British hands. Possibly owing to this fact, and to our having attained commercial supremacy, first Germany in 1871, and subsequently other countries,

including Chili, followed England's example, demonetised silver, and adopted the single gold standard. Our Act of 1819 has thus resulted in one of the gravest monetary revolutions recorded in history, and no estimate can be formed of the ruinous consequences which may yet ensue.

The position of trade and enterprise is one of paralysis; there is a widespread lack of confidence which leads to a disinclination to enter into new enterprises or continue old ones. The result is that enormous amounts of gold capital have been withdrawn from profitable employment in trade, and otherwise from most countries, also from legitimate commercial enterprises in India, British Colonies, China and Japan, owing to the great uncertainty of the gold price of silver. What has not been withdrawn from silver countries has been most prejudicially affected. The uncertainty deters the British capitalist from investing in Indian railways, public works, and other numerous and necessary enterprises waiting development in British Colonies, and in silver-using countries. With a fixed par of exchange there is a wide field in these undeveloped countries for the legitimate and safe employment of large amounts of capital at 7 to 8 per cent. per annum. On the other hand, gold securities at home now yield a very small return, and from present appearances it seems not unlikely to become less. From the Orient, gold capital is still being withdrawn, and these withdrawals have caused great depreciation in British owned property in the East. At the same time gold is accumulating in London, and in European financial centres, from all quarters, which is mainly due to the monetary estrangement between the two hemispheres. At no distant date the accumulations threaten to exceed the storage capacity of the vaults of the Bank. A large amount of gold now stored in the Bank of England is idle and unemployed, and there is no expansion in the Bank's note circulation.

The gap in the yearly supply of money, caused by Germany demonetising silver in 1871-72 and adopting a gold standard, and by other countries subsequently abandoning silver and going to a gold standard, has steadily widened since 1873, and has helped to bring about a serious appreciation of gold, and contributed materially to the fall in commodities to the lowest gold prices on record. Even if the most sanguine expectations in regard to the production of the gold mines in South Africa and Western Australia were realised, and the amount were added to the present stock, many competent experts are of opinion that there would not, with silver reinstated in its former position as money by international agreement, be an

adequate supply of money for the wants and requirements of the vast increase in the world's population, and the corresponding expansion which has taken place in trade since 1873.

The average British trader dislikes being troubled with figures, he very rarely permits his interest to travel beyond the four corners of his ledger or the chronicles of the markets in which he buys and sells. In these days of hurry economic science is practically a sealed book. It may well acknowledge Scotland as its birthplace, but even among Adam Smith's countrymen the comparatively modern science of political economy has not gained general popularity. Ours is a single standard gold country; although in reality we use two metals, though silver can only be employed in payment of debts to the extent of two pounds. In England to-day there is in circulation silver token money representing a value of more than £20,000,000, and it is doing its duty remarkably well. The people could not get on without it or its equivalent in some shape, though its metallic value is less than £9,000,000. France alone has now in circulation silver token money for, say, £140,000,000, performing full duty for business purposes aggregating that amount, while its metallic value is less than £63,000,000.

The official reports from 1890 give the quantity of silver purchased, coined by our mint, and issued in tokens of 5s., 4s., 2s. 6d., 2s., 1s., 6d., and 3d. at the price of 66d. per oz., though

Year	Average price in pence per ounce	Seigniorage per cent.	Annual profit
1890	48 $\frac{11}{16}$	35 $\frac{1}{2}$	£ 321,000
1891	45 $\frac{5}{16}$	45 $\frac{11}{16}$	239,000
1892	39 $\frac{3}{8}$	65 $\frac{11}{16}$	287,000
1893	36 $\frac{5}{16}$	81 $\frac{3}{8}$	274,000
1894	29 $\frac{1}{4}$	125 $\frac{9}{16}$	343,000
		Total . . .	1,464,000

the average price at which the mint purchased silver for 1894 was 29 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per oz. The market price has since receded to 27 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per oz. It may be interesting to show here the average yearly cost of silver per ounce, the rate of seigniorage, and the annual profit derived by the Government from the coinage of silver from 1890-94.

Lord Liverpool, when he changed our currency system, intended that the mint should only earn a small seigniorage on the coinage of silver; yet, during the last five years, the Government secured a profit of no less than £1,464,000 on the token currency issued

Table of Index Numbers for Twenty Chinese Staple Commodities.

	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893
Alum, white . . .	100	88	96	73	100	109	95	119	118	119	121	96	93	98	106	101	94	88	94	100	
Beans . . .	100	93	105	128	139	110	113	99	98	105	107	109	123	111	129	129	119	109	113	158	
Cotton, raw . . .	100	67	85	90	88	81	91	82	90	91	88	67	81	82	77	83	89	83	80	73	
Cuttlefish, dried . . .	100	60	94	91	163	183	112	117	108	146	118	92	81	74	88	96	149	140	80	87	
Hemp . . .	100	101	99	120	124	118	111	116	111	122	118	106	101	100	86	84	88	75	76	89	
Liquorice . . .	100	40	40	40	50	60	77	41	57	73	70	94	95	81	62	64	40	72	86	86	
Oil, wood . . .	100	97	88	97	100	93	99	98	103	103	105	99	110	108	88	78	65	76	85	87	
Paper, 2nd quality . . .	100	112	90	108	98	112	107	100	127	107	115	110	130	130	130	130	70	70	63	66	
Rice . . .	100	119	88	91	91	138	119	100	100	104	119	118	105	119	129	110	91	119	119	119	
Safflower . . .	100	99	90	123	125	112	103	101	102	104	103	98	100	100	102	103	104	104	88	84	
Silk, raw . . .	100	60	57	87	67	64	62	59	68	60	62	53	52	56	61	62	64	61	57	61	
Tallow, vegetable . . .	100	85	80	87	131	116	107	87	88	89	90	81	88	82	72	60	81	79	75	69	
Tea, black . . .	100	111	99	99	84	85	91	82	67	70	69	57	63	73	54	58	73	81	96	66	
„ brick . . .	100	123	112	102	99	95	78	120	87	78	86	82	67	77	62	65	83	67	74	104	
„ green . . .	100	97	76	73	64	75	74	70	60	66	53	57	61	58	60	66	59	53	51	52	
Tobacco, leaf . . .	100	84	75	79	76	83	91	83	72	77	72	63	91	79	65	65	75	62	75	72	
Wax, white . . .	100	105	104	106	102	104	112	121	127	121	110	114	93	104	93	84	74	75	73	97	
Wheat . . .	100	93	114	143	171	171	160	144	126	114	118	161	131	118	113	113	143	157	137	143	
Wool, camel's . . .	100	87	108	113	106	133	161	163	158	156	143	140	140	139	157	148	157	158	160	136	
„ sheep's . . .	100	93	*87	80	53	60	60	47	72	82	53	63	60	67	66	57	68	63	76	68	
Aggregate values of com- modities in silver . . .	2000	1814	1787	1930	2031	2102	2023	1925	1940	1986	1916	1883	1854	1858	1774	1761	1803	1808	1748	1761	
Silver value of gold . . .	2000	2029	2078	2160	2159	2215	2301	2275	2322	2307	2336	2376	2425	2571	2648	2730	2746	2539	2621	2950	

\*The four numbers indicated by an asterisk (\*) are assumed, returns of the articles referred to not having been made for those years.



to the public, or, in other words, the Government sent into circulation in 1890-94 an amount of tokens the actual or metallic value of which was less than their nominal value by the sum of £1,464,000. These tokens are legal tender to the extent of £2 for any one payment, and forty tokens of 1s. are made to be the equivalent of two sovereigns, whereas the metallic value of forty pieces of 1s. each is really less than one sovereign; in other words, the metallic value of our shilling is less than sixpence. Such is the power of the law, and such are the anomalies of our present currency system.

#### STABILITY OF PRICES IN ASIATIC COUNTRIES.

The statistics of silver-using countries conclusively prove that silver continued reasonably steady from 1873 to 1893 with respect to commodities. Gold is merchandise in Asia, and is excluded from the money function. Uncoined silver has been merchandise in Europe since 1873, and has been exposed to the influences which bear upon the prices of commodities. On occasions gold prices of commodities have fallen before the gold price of silver. The table (on page 140) of index numbers for twenty of the principal articles produced in China from 1873 to 1893 clearly demonstrates the stability of silver during that period. The table was compiled by Mr. W. S. Wetmore, of Shanghai, from official returns of trade issued by the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs, and he writes:—

The price of gold in China, as measured by silver, has gone up enormously. My table shows that while less than 2,000 taels of silver would now (1893) buy more of commodities on the average than they would have done in 1873, it would take, on the average cost of gold in 1893, 3,280 taels of silver to buy as much gold as 2,000 taels would have done in 1873. As for Japan, which is also a silver-standard country, similar results are deducible from their official Customs returns.

In Mr. Barr Robertson's important paper on "The Indian Currency," read before the Indian section of the Society of Arts in March last, he gives the following index numbers of the silver prices of commodities for exports and imports at Calcutta from 1874-93, issued by the India Office. They are striking evidence, confirmatory of Mr. Wetmore's figures for Shanghai, of the extraordinary stability of silver in its purchasing power over commodities from 1873-93, as compared with gold, and of its steadiness as a standard of value. Mr. Sauerbeck's index numbers giving the gold price of silver in London are also included.

*The India Office Index Numbers.*

Year	Exports at Calcutta. 20 leading articles. Silver prices	Imports at Calcutta. 11 leading articles. Silver prices	Average of exports and imports at Calcutta. Silver prices	Gold value of bar silver in London. Average of year
	rupees	rupees	rupees	
1874	108	102	105	95·8
1875	96	100	98	93·3
1876	90	100	95	86·7
1877	105	93	99	90·2
1878	100	88	94	86·4
1879	101	85	93	84·2
1880	107	89	98	85·9
1881	100	86	93	85·0
1882	93	86	89	84·9
1883	89	83	86	83·1
1884	92	80	86	83·3
1885	85	77	81	79·9
1886	88	78	83	74·6
1887	85	81	83	73·3
1888	86	93	89	70·4
1889	102	92	97	70·2
1890	101	91	96	78·4
1891	92	89	90	74·1
1892	105	89	97	65·4
1893	104	104	104	58·6
Or an average of 92 for 1874-93.				

*ASIATIC versus BRITISH LABOUR.*

During the period when the joint standard was in force it gave to the world a common measure of value in gold and silver. Under this system the wages of labour in gold countries, and in silver countries, were adjusted; in fact, a relationship was established between the wages of labour in the East and the West, according to the ratio then existing between gold and silver, and they adjusted themselves thereunder to each other. In 1873 the international bond connecting gold and silver, which had justly given an equality to European and Asiatic labour and to all trading relation was broken. It was of the most vital importance that that system should have been continued until now and for all time in the interests of all the nations of the East and the West. Silver discharges one-half of the whole duty of metallic money in the world. It is the money of two-thirds of the human race. No legislation can ever demonetise silver in the Eastern countries, because it is altogether indispensable.

As Sir David Barbour writes:—

To entirely demonetise silver and substitute gold would not, of course, affect the total wealth of the world. The land would be as productive, and human industry as efficient, as before, but silver would practically cease to have any value, while gold would have doubled in value. In other words, property worth from 1,200 to 1,500 millions sterling would have been transferred from the pockets of one class to those of another. Nor would this change, gigantic as it is, represent the whole of the facts; all debtors would have their debts doubled, while their creditors would gain in a corresponding degree. To make any such change in the currency of the world equitable it would be necessary to take from every human being one half of the gold he possessed, and to transfer it in appropriate quantities to the holders of silver, to reduce all gold coins to half their former weight, and to substitute for silver coins gold ones, containing half as much gold as equivalent gold coins would have contained before the demonetisation of silver. All obligations contracted before the change would in the same way require to be adjusted with reference to the new and increased value of gold. The operation is one that could not be carried out, and that will never be attempted; but what has been stated will enable the reader to form some conception of the disasters which must ensue if gold be very much more largely employed as coin than silver.

In Oriental countries silver will still pay for the same quantity of labour as formerly. Yet as now measured in gold, silver is worth less than half of the gold it formerly equalled. For example, a certain quantity of labour could have been engaged in England twenty years ago for, say, eight shillings in gold, and a like quantity of labour in China for, say, two dollars, equal at the old ratio to eight shillings. Eight shillings in England now will pay for no more labour than formerly, wages being about the same, and they have still by our law exactly the same monetary value as formerly, though their metallic value has, by the appreciation of gold, been reduced to less than sixpence each. The two dollars exactly similar to the old ones can employ the same quantity of labour as before, but no more, yet at the present gold price they are only equal to four shillings. Therefore it is possible now to employ as much labour in Asia for four shillings of our money, or the equivalent thereof in silver, as could have been employed twenty years ago for eight shillings, or its then equivalent in silver. The value of Oriental labour having thus been reduced by upwards of 55 per cent. in gold money compared with what it was formerly, it will be able to produce manufactures and commodities just so much cheaper than the labour in gold-standard countries. Our monetary system causes this vast estrangement

between the labour markets of the West and of the East. The economic law is dominant throughout the world which says truly that the cheapest market will control the world. Now, the population of the globe is about sixteen hundred millions, of whom about one-third are Europeans and Americans, with a gold standard for their measure of value, and the other two thirds are of the Asiatic races, who have a silver-standard for their measure of value. There is no limit to the supply of cheap labour which can be obtained in Oriental countries. At the equivalent in silver of fivepence or sixpence per day of gold money, there are millions of men and women anxious for employment. Therefore, unless our monetary law is amended, or unless British labour is prepared to accept a large reduction of wages, British industrial trades must inevitably leave British shores, because their products will be superseded by the establishment of industries in silver-standard countries. British manufactures are now placed at a great disadvantage, and have no longer a "fair field and no favour." Manufacturing industries are in a most deplorable condition, and our agricultural industry was never carried on under more hopeless circumstances than it now is; and its future prospects must be viewed with something approaching absolute dismay. Dr. Giffen in his report to the Royal Commission on Agriculture quoted a return from the Revenue Department which showed that the annual value of land in England, as assessed under Schedule B of the income tax, had fallen from £39,589,000 in 1842-43 to £39,238,000 in 1888-89, notwithstanding the great expenditure of capital in the interval; and these figures will be better appreciated when it is remembered that rents were comparatively low in 1842-43. Again, the value of "lands" in England and Wales, exclusive of the metropolis, was £51,672,798 in 1879-80 and only £40,718,441 in 1892-93, showing a fall of nearly £11,000,000, and the value of the agricultural products of the United Kingdom, which in 1891 were estimated at £222,915,000, would have been worth £298,997,000, if valued at the prices of 1874.

Our inadequate monetary standard has mainly contributed to bring about the serious fall in gold prices of commodities, which has caused British farmers to receive for the products of agriculture in 1891 the appalling amount of £76,000,000 less than they would have received had the 1874 prices been obtainable. Had a corresponding fall taken place in silver prices of agricultural products in India it can be said, without fear of successful contradiction, that the Government of India and the hundreds of millions of people in that vast empire would have been involved in absolute bankruptcy.



Let us for a moment consider one article, Indian wheat and English wheat. It is sold in the same market and practically at the same price. But the price which brings disaster to the British farmer gives prosperity to the Indian farmer. Yet the Indian farmer has not adopted any particular improvements in cultivation in the last twenty years. Why, therefore, is it that he derives prosperity from the price which is ruinous to the British agriculturist? The whole question is summed up in the single factor of exchange, or the inadequate medium through which British trade is carried on. The reason why the British gold price gives such a large return in silver money is that gold having enormously increased in value, when compared with silver, the Indian farmer gets the same price in rupees as formerly, while the British farmer is paid in a greatly appreciated currency, of which he receives only about half what he formerly received. The Indian farmer is still receiving Rs. 100 for a given quantity of wheat which yielded him Rs. 100 twenty years ago, while with our contracted currency the British farmer now receives for a given quantity of wheat less than £50 when twenty years ago for the same quantity of wheat he received £100. There is every reason to believe that at no very distant date the productions of Oriental labour will have considerable influence in the markets of England, unless prohibitive import duties are imposed by Parliament. In support of the Government imposing increased import duties to maintain the price of grain in Germany, Prince Bismarck said in 1885, "I hold an increase in the price to be necessary. I ask you to imagine the price of rye falling 50 pfenning. Is it not quite clear that our agriculture would then be absolutely ruined, and with it all the labourers and all the capitalists depending upon it? In short, it is undoubtedly a national calamity when the price of corn, the every-day means of subsistence, falls below the rate it can be cultivated with us. I will regard the maxim as admitted that there is a limit below which the price of corn cannot fall without the ruin of our entire economic life." The price of wheat in 1885 was about 33s., while in 1894 it fell to under 20s. a quarter.

British labour cannot compete against the cheaper productions of Oriental labour. Labour is the foundation upon which the superstructure is built. Its price is the chief factor in determining the prices of wholesale commodities. British labour is face to face with poverty and disaster; the number of unemployed is increasing, a further fall in gold prices must completely ruin the greatest industry in our country—agriculture; our trade and principal industries are suffering from unprecedented depression, and British

commercial supremacy is threatened. Various reasons are attributed for this extremely grave state of affairs, but the real cause at work undermining the foundation is our monetary system. In the solution of this great problem, not only the people of the British islands, but the inhabitants of every British colony, are vitally interested. Without the restoration of silver to its former function of money there appears no prospect of a return of prosperity, or even relief to the prevailing widespread depression. I have the conviction that British statesmen and the British public are in great measure unaware of the enormous national interests that have already been partially sacrificed, and the further existence of which is seriously imperilled. I consider myself extremely fortunate to have had the opportunity of expressing the views which are generally, if not unanimously entertained throughout the Far East concerning the perilous condition of British trade with Oriental countries, and more especially under the auspices of the Royal Colonial Institute. You are aware its object is the advancement of the best interests of the British Empire, and it is earnestly to be hoped that through its great influence the monetary problem which is now recognised as one of the great Imperial questions of the day, will receive the prompt and serious attention which the vast interests at stake demand. It is imperative for the people of Great Britain to consider in a spirit of conciliation the cause of the unprecedented decline in our commerce here foreshadowed, and it is absolutely necessary that Parliament should amend our monetary law before it is too late. A standard or monetary measure which deprives the greatest industry of our United Empire of £76,000,000 per annum, and jeopardises the financial stability of the great Indian Empire, cannot be regarded as a reasonable or just standard or measure of value. The continuance of British exports and probable increase would be assured for generations if the old partnership were restored between the two precious metals. The rehabilitation of silver in the Western world, and its restoration to its former position as a recognised standard of value concurrently with gold, can alone give what is essential, viz., a world-wide standard of value which would possess the maximum of stability.

P.S.—Since the above paper was read, M. Ribot, the French Premier, speaking in the Chamber of Deputies, said :—

I agree that the abandonment of the mintage of silver, the responsibility for which was incurred in 1873 by the German Government, has proved extremely disastrous : but we cannot attribute the agricultural crisis in all its length and breadth solely to the suspension of the free coinage of silver. There have been many causes, but to me it is evident that the

abandonment of bimetallism, coinciding with these general causes, has precipitated the crisis, and has given it a far more grave character than it would otherwise have had. I have no doubt at all on this point. . . . In the countries which have hitherto been most attached to the monometallic system, and notably in England, a current of opinion in favour of a serious attempt to find a remedy for the existing crisis is being developed, and the action of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in abandoning the theory of monometallism, and demanding that by some means the monetary value of silver shall be restored, is a very considerable event. We may differ in opinion as to the precise methods to be employed, but I believe that in England and in Germany there is a genuine movement in favour of the resumption of the coinage of silver. Although I believe that France cannot alone settle the question, I am of opinion that she ought not to restrict herself to an attitude of indifference and waiting. She ought to indicate in a marked manner that she desires to hasten the solution; she ought to assume an attitude which will encourage the movement of public opinion in neighbouring countries. This is the policy which the Minister for Foreign Affairs will adopt, and which I have adopted.

Prince Hohenlohe, the German Prime Minister, in the Reichstag on the 15th inst., read the following declaration :—

Without prejudicing our Imperial currency, one must confess that the differences in value between gold and silver continue to react upon our commercial life. Following out the train of thought which led to the convocation of the Silver Inquiry Commission, I am ready to consider, in conjunction with the Federal Governments, whether we cannot enter into a friendly interchange of opinions as to common remedial measures with the other states which are chiefly interested in maintaining the value of silver,

while the German Reichstag on Saturday, the 16th idem, adopted by a large majority Count Mirbach's resolution in favour of bimetallism and the summoning of an International Monetary Conference for the remonetisation of silver, and on the 26th inst. the British House of Commons unanimously adopted the following resolution :—

That this House regards with increasing apprehension the constant fluctuations and the growing divergence in the relative value of gold and silver, and heartily concurs in the recent expression of opinion on the part of the Government of France, and the Government and Parliament of Germany, as to the serious evils resulting therefrom. It, therefore, urges upon Her Majesty's Government the desirability of co-operating with the other Powers in an International Conference, for the purpose of considering what measures can be taken to remove or mitigate these evils.

T. H. W.

Feb. 27, 1895.

## DISCUSSION.

Mr. LESLEY C. PROBYN : Probably no one in this room appreciates more fully than I do how much commercial prosperity depends on a sound monetary system. In venturing, therefore, to criticise the interesting paper which has been read to us, I do so from the standpoint of one who fully realises the importance of the subject. The keynote of Mr. Whitehead's argument is that the altered relative values of gold and silver have given undue encouragement to producers in silver-using countries at the expense of producers in gold-using ones. I quite admit the great evils which arise from fluctuations in the relative values of the moneys of different countries. They make trade a gamble rather than a legitimate business; and in some cases the fall in the gold value of silver temporarily encourages production in silver countries—helps indeed to start new industries just in the same way as industries are temporarily fostered by protective duties and bounties. But in the long run prices of commodities will find their proper level in the markets of the world. Commodities in the course of trade are exchanged for each other, and not for the gold and silver by means of which the exchanges are effected. Variations in the relative values of gold and silver no doubt clog the mechanism of exchange; sometimes, indeed, prevent the mechanism from acting truly. But in the long run even such bad mechanism as is afforded by the Argentina dollar or the Russian rouble is made serviceable for the due exchange of commodities. I cannot therefore go with the lecturer in ascribing all our troubles to this faulty mechanism. Take, for instance, the case of jute, to which he refers (p. 118). Though I believe one jute mill at least was working in India at a profit before 1872, it is quite possible that the trade may have been encouraged by the low exchange. But the trade really stands independent of exchange. To send jute from Calcutta to Dundee to be manufactured into bags to be sent back from Dundee to Calcutta, which bags were required for shipping produce from Calcutta to Europe, was circumlocution with a vengeance! The jute mills in India pay (1) because the raw material is on the spot, and (2) the cheapness of Indian more than counterbalances the extra efficiency of European labour, and the cost of importing machinery from Europe. Let me take another commodity and another country outside the scope of Mr. Whitehead's paper—the Australian wool trade. If Australasia had had a silver standard, this might have been advanced as another



instance of the iniquities of silver, of the encouragement given by a silver standard to Australasian sheep-farmers. But the low price at which it is possible to sell Australasian wool is owing to the favourable circumstances which admit of its cheap and excellent production. Similar remarks apply to the Australasian meat trade, which is now assuming such important dimensions, and which, notwithstanding the cost of freight, &c., without the adventitious aid Indian, Chinese and Japanese producers are said to get from cheap silver, is exercising such an important influence on the price of meat in our home market. One more instance I will trouble you with, but from quite an opposite point of view. Look at the competition of Argentina as a wheat-producing country. It is stated, and I have no doubt correctly, that as cheap silver has stimulated Oriental productions, the cheap paper dollar has stimulated the production of Argentine wheat. But does anyone in his senses believe that this will act permanently? That the evil, if indeed it be an evil to anyone besides the Argentina grower and the European investor in Argentina securities who really pays part of the loss, will not correct itself sooner or later? And that sooner or later the wheat of Argentina, even with its vicious currency system, will not change for its proper value in other commodities in the markets of the world? I quite admit the desirability of uniformity of monetary standards all over the world. I don't care—speaking for the prosperity of the world at large—whether it is gold, or whether it is silver, or whether it is, I will not say bi-metallism, but an alternating standard of value under which, as I believe, the metal silver or gold which at the ratio fixed is for the time overvalued, becomes automatically the standard of valuation. Let us have an international agreement by all means, if possible. But don't let us be misled into thinking that our troubles will be ended when we have got it. We shall still have the possibility of particular nations deliberately overthrowing the agreement. We shall still have particular nations, as was the case with two of the partners to the Latin Union, though nominally keeping to the agreement, being led by the force of circumstances to soft-money, and possibly by its aid, at the expense of their producers and their external creditors, selling their goods for less than they are really worth. But whether there be an agreement or not, England and her Colonies and India must stand side by side, recognising that they are all citizens of the same Empire. They must hold their own, not merely by means of good uniform money—not, as is sometimes the case, by endeavouring to become rich without adding to the general wealth of the world, but by the increased skill

and industry of their more highly-paid workers ; by increased wisdom in the settlement of wages and trade disputes ; and by the recognition that the interests of capital and labour are really identical, compete fairly among themselves, and successfully with the rest of the world.

Sir DAVID M. BARBOUR, K.C.S.I. : Mr. Whitehead has covered a very wide field in the interesting paper to which we have listened to-night, a field so wide that I would not propose to follow him over the whole of it, even if I were competent to do so. Before making a few remarks on the branch of the subject with which I am most familiar, namely, the currency question, I would like to explain that I am not an Inflationist, that I do not believe you increase real wealth by multiplying coins, and that I am not a Protectionist in disguise, but a staunch Free Trader. Nor do I come before you to advocate a remedy which will solve every social and economic problem, and enable us to "live happy ever after" in defiance of foreign competition. Whatever your standard of value may be, you will still have problems which tax your statesmen to the utmost, and which are likely to increase in importance and magnitude with each succeeding year. But even though this be the case, the question of the monetary standard is of great and growing importance, because every year the financial relations that exist between different nations, and between different communities and individuals, are increasing in complexity, and the number of contracts made in terms of money in which the element of time enters increases as civilisation advances. It is not uninteresting to recall the views expressed before the changes that began in 1873 were initiated. It so happened that when I was honoured with an invitation to this meeting, I was engaged in reading the correspondence between Wolowski and Professor Jevons in 1868. There was at that time some question of the demonetisation of silver, and Wolowski prophesied that in that event there would be a great fall in gold prices, great difficulties in trade between the East and the West, a great tendency towards protection, and great general depression, and that many fantastic reasons would be given for the existence of the depression other than the real one, and Jevons did not believe that the value of gold would increase 25 per cent. with reference to silver, and he did not believe there would be any considerable fall in gold prices. As regards the fall in gold prices, you all know there has been such a fall. It has been estimated at 40 per cent. In the next place, you know there are great difficulties in trade between gold and silver countries, and if you had any doubts on the subject, I think Mr. Whitehead's paper

to which we listened to-night would have removed them. Thirdly, there has been beyond doubt a great falling away from the principles of free trade, and a great tendency towards protection. There are some people who would cry out for protection under any circumstances, but I think the force of their cry has been very much intensified by the fall in prices. Many nations that had foreign debts have been forced to put on import duties to enable them to pay their way, and I venture to quote the recent imposition of import duties in India as a case in point. This fall in prices has led, as I have said, to a further outcry for protection. I will read you the words of a great authority on the subject, not that he says protection is coming because bi-metallism is destroyed, but that he says there has actually been this falling away from free trade. In March, 1894, Mr. Gladstone wrote:—"It is a matter of sincere concern to me in retrospect to measure the ground that has been lost in the last twenty-five or thirty years with respect to this great subject, both on the continent of Europe and among the larger portion of what is commonly called the Anglo-Saxon race. On this great subject my own country remains a solitary witness to what was once regarded as an established economic truth." I may mention, by the way, that I have quoted Professor Jevons not with any intention of depreciating the value of his opinions, for he was an eminent economist, and a very fair-minded and conscientious man, and in a matter in which he was mistaken we may all admit we might very well be mistaken. I come now to the fantastic reasons for the fall of prices and general depression which Wolowski predicted. One is that there has been a great cheapening of production, and that the standard of value has no effective prices. I think there is an argument which shows that that reason is unsound. We find a great fall in prices in the gold-standard countries, and we do not find that in the silver-standard countries. Therefore, the course of prices is affected by the standard. Another argument put forward is that the question of prices is all a question of credit—that the material of the standard is of no importance. But, as we know, the fall of gold prices has been estimated at 40 per cent., and there has been no fall in silver prices. It follows, on the theory just referred to, that there must be a greater development of credit in silver countries than in gold countries. This is not the case, so that the argument as to credit being everything falls to the ground. When silver was first depreciating relatively to gold, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the question, under the chairmanship



of Mr. Goschen. The late Mr. Walter Bagehot gave evidence before the Committee, and he had no hesitation in explaining the whole matter. He said silver had been produced in large quantities, and there was not the same market for it; large quantities would go to the East and silver prices would fall. What really happened was that gold prices fell. There has been a further explanation of the phenomena—an explanation invented when everything else had failed. It was said gold prices fell owing to the cheapening of production, and that silver prices did not fall owing to the cheapening of silver. Assuming that to be so, I should say silver was the better standard of the two, and you may with great profit read what Professor Foxwell says on this subject in the "National Review" for last January. But is it really the case that the whole of this fall of prices is due to the cheapening of production? Mr. Sauerbeck gives an exhaustive list of articles, comprising wheat, oats, barley, maize, potatoes, rice, beef, mutton, bacon, butter, sugar, coffee, tea, iron, copper, tin, lead, coals, cotton, flax, hemp, jute, wool, silk, leather, tallow, oil, seeds, and timber, and finds that prices have fallen 40 per cent. as compared not with the high prices of 1873 but with the average prices of 1867 to 1877. I would ask you to consider what that means as regards the producer. It does not merely mean the producer has to give 40 per cent. more of his produce to pay a fixed gold debt. It means he has to give 66 per cent. more. Does anyone believe that all these staple commodities have been so far cheapened that the producer has been able to give 66 per cent. more of them to discharge the same debts without feeling the extra burden? That is a proposition nobody can accept. The consequence is that all countries with foreign debts are in great difficulties. Mr. Probyn called attention to the great facilities Australia has for producing excellent wool cheaply. We would expect that Australia would be extremely prosperous under such circumstances, but is that the case? Is it not the fact that Australia suffers very much from these low prices? The cheapening of production is a most excellent thing, but I would like you to understand that bi-metallism does not interfere with the cheapening of production, but that under bi-metallism you get all the advantages of cheap production and the great advantage of not increasing the burden on the producer. I would like to call your attention to the great rate at which the burden increases as the prices fall. If the price of a certain class of produce falls from £100 to £80, the burden on the producer is increased 25 per cent., but if the price falls another £20 the burden is 41 per cent. more, making a total burden of 66 per



cent. If that is not sufficient to account for the present depression I do not know what is. This increasing weight of the burden as prices fall shows how important it is to have a standard of value under which such excessive falls would not take place. Even to save the last 10 per cent. would be an enormous gain. The question of the standard of value for future generations is not one to be decided simply with reference to the difficulties of the present day, or with reference to any difficulties we can foresee in a few years. The decision as regards the standard of value will, as far as can be seen, affect the whole world for centuries; therefore it is of the utmost importance that this question should be thoroughly considered, and that no change should be made except deliberately and after a most careful weighing of the arguments for and against. You ought not to be alarmed at a little increase of the production of silver or gold, or be very much elated either, for their consequences are not so serious as are sometimes supposed. Such increases have frequently occurred in the past and no doubt will in the future, and the consequences have not been ruinous. On the other hand, the complexity of the financial relations amongst the nations of the world and amongst communities and individuals increases every year, and it is of the utmost importance you should have the very best standard of value which the wit of man can devise.

The Right Hon. LEONARD H. COURTNEY, M.P. : I am very much honoured in being asked to say something on the present occasion, though, if I could consult my own feelings, I confess I would rather be silent than speak, for the subject which has been engaging one's attention is one, as I know, of the utmost complexity, which it requires great patience and great care to consider accurately, and it requires also from the hearer an uncommon degree of candour to allow your conclusions to be received with freedom and with open-mindedness. But though I would gladly be silent, it is probable I should be defective in my duty as well as in my gratitude to you if I did not say something, because I have had especial reasons for studying this question, and therefore am under a corresponding obligation to speak, and also because, in the course of that study, I have been able to see something of both sides of the question, and to understand some of the difficulties which beset those who are most sincerely desirous of arriving at the truth. I may, without boasting—perhaps even with some shame—say that I am thus able to speak of having seen both sides of the question, because I have myself held different opinions about it. What I once thought I have seen occasion to modify. The conclusions to which I once adhered I

have been compelled to put aside. Mr. Probyn has told us that sooner or later the trade relations between different countries free themselves altogether from the embarrassment which may be occasioned by different standards in such countries. I entirely agree with him. Trade between England and France is somewhat embarrassed by the fact that we have different standards of weight and of measurement, but we soon get over that difficulty. Trade is also somewhat embarrassed in that we have here the sovereign and they have the napoleon, but that difficulty also can soon be got over, especially considering that the sovereign and the napoleon are made of the same metal. But what is the degree of rapidity—how true is it that sooner or later we get over the embarrassment occasioned by having different measures of monetary value when those different measures are formed of different metals? Mr. Probyn himself would be one of the first to admit that the conditions of production of each metal are continually undergoing variation, and therefore you have “sooner or later” to get over the embarrassment of a ratio which is itself continually changing. You can never get over the embarrassment absolutely, because the conditions of production of the two metals which prevail to-day may change to-morrow, and the conclusion which you have arrived at in the transactions you have made this afternoon in your counting-house may be falsified by what may happen in the course of next month. That is a difficulty which is practically never absolutely surmountable. “Sooner or later” we get over these things, but what is the degree of quickness with which any nation accommodates itself to a change in its own standard quite irrespective of its relations to the outer world? If Great Britain were a self-contained country, having an absolute standard, and if gold were to change the conditions of its production from hour to hour, with what degree of celerity would the different classes which make up the community accommodate themselves to conditions of change in the production of the standard? It takes a very long time, and the more you will understand that as you realise the economy of industry in any particular country (especially in a country where habits and manners practically admit of little change, such as the great countries of the East), and as you realise the great length of time it takes in the commercial, social, and industrial relations of the country to accommodate themselves to the changes of conditions of the commodity which they have chosen as the standard of value. Wages do not change with great rapidity; salaries are perhaps still slower to change; a very large number of customary payments remain; municipal and national

debts do not change,—the burden may be increased or the burden may be diminished, but the actual amount payable remains fixed. I believe those who consider the history of Europe in the sixteenth century will see a great deal of the political convulsion that ran throughout Europe was due to the change produced in the actual value of the precious metals through the discovery of America. The relations between classes became disorganised; the revenues of monarchies, fixed and incapable of immediate change, became inadequate to the expenses thrown on the State; the customary payments made to the Church and to landlords became insufficient, and a great deal of the dislocation of society that happened during that time was due to the changes going on in the value of the standard of metals of that period. Now, realise what embarrassment follows in the relations between countries which practically use gold only and countries which practically use silver only. There is a variation which you cannot overtake. “Sooner or later,” we say to ourselves, but the “sooner or later” never is actually arriving. If it should happen to be true in such a condition as that, that both silver is become cheaper—that is, being produced with greater facility—and gold for some years is becoming dearer—that is, being produced with greater difficulty,—consider the dislocation produced in the natural competition between silver-using and gold-using countries. I am the last to undervalue, to disparage the immense importance of the natural conditions which govern the competition of industry between this and other countries. I perhaps am a little too anxious sometimes for the future of this enormous society of ours, built up upon the fact that we have been able to produce more cheaply the commodities which are wanted all over the world than any of our rivals—an overgrown society resting upon that pre-eminence in production, and what may happen to that society if other nations have learnt the arts of production from us, and have discovered conditions of production of which they were before ignorant, so that they may enter into rivalry with ourselves in supplying the wants of the world? When one thinks of this and realises that by perfectly natural operations one sphere, one market after another, is withdrawn from us—when, for example, in the production of the elementary matters of coal we find Australia gone, India gone, China and Japan gone, America gone, and the circle of our trade being gradually reduced and doomed to still greater reduction, one cannot but be oppressed with the thought of what may happen through the natural rivalry of production. But if added to that you have even a temporary hardening of the conditions here and a tem-

porarily increased facility of conditions elsewhere ; if you have as a rule the weight of wages pressing less on the Eastern producer and if you have them here pressing heavier ; if you have your debts here pressing heavier ; if you have here a constant discouragement of industry through falling prices and elsewhere a constant encouragement and even inflation of enterprise through rising prices, then you are face to face with a struggle for existence which must excite our severest apprehensions, and in which we can get very little comfort from the thought that "sooner or later" the matter will accommodate itself. No, it may be we have to view, or our successors will have to view, the passing away of one industry after another from us. Though we may regret for our own sakes such a possibility, we cannot but remember that the world at large must be benefited if it means that the wants of man are to be supplied with less labour and less cost. I am a free-trader *à outrance*, even though it may mean the extinction of our national supremacy as the industrial organisation of the world. The world at large after all is greater than Great Britain, and if it is to be that we are to yield the great privilege of supplying the wants of nations to those who have been in rivalry with us, we must accept what is for the benefit of mankind, though it must be for our loss. But do not let this be unnecessarily precipitated and aggravated by changes which encourage other nations, to the injury of many of their own classes, to develop, foster, and enlarge industries which ought not to be so developed and enlarged, and at the same time to contract, unnaturally to contract, industries which need not yet be contracted. I turn to what Mr. Whitehead has said about Japan. Japan is undoubtedly going to be a considerable power in the world. We know that in the military and naval sense already. It is going also to be a great industrial power, and the fact that silver is so cheap encourages Japanese capitalists to enter upon enterprises and enables them to pay their employés with actually less wages than they would otherwise be bound to pay them. That, hereafter, may be corrected, but whilst the process is going on we are suffering, and the Japanese are not really gaining by this unnatural temporary expansion of their industries. Hence it is that I have realised so strongly—although I thought at one time we might wait and see, without any action being taken—the desirability, if possible of not leaving these relations to adjust themselves, sooner or later, in a fashion in which they never will be fully adjusted—that I realise the desirability of taking some step which should get the nations to agree upon terms which will adjust them at once, so that we may if possible have one standard of value running through all



the great producing nations of the world. Mr. Probyn, and those who agree with him, who say, and say truly, that sooner or later you will get at something like an identity, cannot object to our more speedy realisation of that which they themselves hold to be in itself desirable. If it is desirable, let us try to get it brought about. Do not let us wait for blind forces, possibly to produce it tens of years hence. Let us see if we cannot establish it at once. Mr. Whitehead referred to something we have been doing in India. I am passing now to an episode in this great business. India was a silver-using country, as China and Japan are. We at home are a gold-using country. It was thought desirable, for the sake of the finances of the Indian Government, to bring about some closer agreement between the monetary systems of India and of England. It was referred to a committee, of which I had the honour to be a member, to decide whether the Indian Government should be allowed free way to follow up their policy, and suspend the free coinage of rupees, and we did not see our way to interfere with them. We always realised that was bringing India more or less into the gold-using system and separating it from the silver-using system. We realised it might have some effect on the industries of India, but we could not see how the Government of India could be forbidden to have their way in the matter. But I do not think any one of us thought for a moment by suspending the coinage of rupees we were going to send the rupee up at once to 1s. 4d. I thought we should have cut the rupee freer from silver than it has been cut—that we should have given it more stability. It still does, in some way or other, more than I expected, shift with the shifting value of silver. That, however, is an episode, and I go back to the substantial question. To my mind it is in the highest degree desirable and important for the interests of Great Britain, not less than of other countries, that we should, if possible, establish some measure of exchange which should be common to the world. That practically existed so long as the bi-metallic ratio was maintained in the Western union. Gold and silver did have an absolute fixed ratio to one another. The variations were trifling, most temporary, and inasmuch as throughout Europe you could not have practically different values of gold and silver, there was one value throughout Europe, and by some similar process we might get one standard established throughout Europe, and indeed throughout the world. I do not presume here to say in what way, upon what exact ratio, in what particular form that should be brought about. All I have desired to impress upon you is my own strong sense of the urgency of bringing

some relation about, and if one could make that belief general, if one could bring it home to members of Parliament and members of Governments, without professing to have a particular plan which one insists upon as the thing to be adopted, it would be quite enough, I believe, to secure the thing being established within a short period of time. The difficulty is to get the leaders of our Government, and of our politicians and our thinkers, commercial and political, to believe it is desirable to get an international agreement established. Congresses have been summoned and have been held, and the difficulty has been practically submitted to lie in the reluctance of the United Kingdom to make any change. If we could get over that reluctance, the battle would be won. We should then be able, I believe, to establish in Europe and through Europe, wherever commerce goes, a relation between gold and silver which would free our future from embarrassments caused by the shifting conditions to which I have referred. It would not relieve us from the intensity of a real competition or prevent the world from realising all the benefits of the cheaper production that is possible, but it would save us at home from being hampered by being at present out of relation to the silver-using countries. Let us get rid of this embarrassment—an embarrassment which may be apparently beneficial to the trade of silver-using countries, but which really they will have to pay for sooner or later. Let us get rid of an embarrassment which is also injurious to ourselves. We shall get rid of it if we can establish a conviction in the national mind that an international agreement is desirable, and my excuse for speaking to you is this: that after having had to consider the question for some years, I have become more and more impressed, by a survey of the industrial experience of our time, and by a realisation of the principles which lay at the root of this complicated problem, of the enormous importance of establishing that international agreement.

Sir W. W. HUNTER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.: I came here not as a speaker but as a listener, and it is with diffidence, therefore, that I follow the well-considered speech we have just heard. But there is one point to which I venture to ask attention—a point which I think has been passed over with too little consideration this evening. We have heard from Mr. Whitehead a great many facts, a great many arguments, and some theories. I accept his facts; I assent to most of his arguments, but I must be excused if I do not entirely concur with his theories. So far as I understand, the main theory put forward this evening is that our trade with the East is imperilled mainly by the currency conditions which regulate the

trade. I look at the title of the lecture, and I find it is not "The Critical Condition of British Currency with the East" but "The Critical Position of British Trade with the East." Underlying the whole position is not only and not primarily the question of currency. It is a question of economic production, of economic advantages. The economic position is the fundamental question between the East and the West. It is a question of climate, of the methods of production, industrial and agricultural, of the organisation of labour and capital. I take one product, viz. wheat, and I maintain that as regards climate and as regards methods of agriculture, East has a distinct advantage over the West. I do not believe that England can permanently produce wheat at the same price that India can produce it. Apart from all questions of currency, there is, in regard to this and other Indian staples, the economic question of cheapness in production. Take, again, the case of cotton. Here a question of agricultural methods comes in and of the organisation of labour. I do not believe that in the cheaper qualities of cotton goods England can import its cotton either from India or from America, and then send its cheaper qualities of cotton to compete with the production of the Indian cotton mills. In all agricultural staples we have in England to contend with great disadvantages in regard to economy of production. I will pass over questions of climate, and consider for a moment the methods of agriculture in Great Britain and India. In most parts of India the producer is the farmer and also the owner of the soil. There comes but one profit out of the Indian soil; there come three profits out of the English soil. That is one fact underlying agricultural production which ought to be considered, not less than the question of currency. As regards manufactures, take for example cotton. It seems that a country which grows its own jute and cotton, and which raises its own coal at a cheaper rate than English coal, has economic advantages in the production of jute and cotton goods quite apart from currency considerations. We have come now, in my opinion, to a struggle not merely between gold currency and silver currency, between gold-using countries and silver-using countries. I believe we have come to a much more serious struggle—to a struggle between the conditions of productions in the East and in the West. I do not say the struggle is not intensified by currency difficulties, but this country will make a great mistake—it will live in a fool's paradise—if it considers that the currency question is the only difficulty in England's competition with Asia. I have had great pleasure in listening to Mr. Whitehead's lecture. He has

touched upon questions which are very far-reaching, and of which we have not yet heard the end. We are accustomed to look to the opening of China by this war as a new field for British manufactures. But I believe that if the industry of China is placed upon a sound footing, as it may be after this war, we shall have not only a new field for the consumption of our manufactures, but also a new competitor in the production of our manufactures. Japan and China and India have certain advantages in the economic conditions of production which it would be unwise of the British producer to overlook. While, therefore, I do not wish to underrate the currency difficulty, I also desire to raise my voice in protest against accepting that as the sole factor in the situation.

Mr. H. SCHMIDT: Sir W. Hunter thinks we may overestimate the influence of the currency question. I agree with him that this may be possible. But is it so in the present case? We may safely ignore all additional advantages which the manufactures of the East enjoy over those of the West, and the residue—the advantages owing to exchange—will be sufficient to account for nearly the whole of the fall that has taken place in the prices in Europe. This advantage amounts to 50 per cent. if not more. What we are complaining of is the low level of prices, and this is directly traceable to the silver exchanges, which have allowed the East to export produce at ever reduced prices. Mr. Courtney's argument on this point stands out clearly and boldly. Mr. Probyn tells us that things may right themselves in the course of time. Not only, however, may this time be very long in coming, but such a readjustment would in any case only affect current transactions, and not apply to existing contracts. And it is here that the difficulties lie. Our industries—and the industries of other gold standard countries—are suffering from the weight of previously contracted debts; and this weight is constantly being added to by the continued artificially lowered level of prices. There are some who think that the greater production of gold will prove a remedy in this respect. Now it is undoubtedly true that the great discoveries of gold in 1852 had considerable effect on the general level of prices; but I would like to point out that in 1852 England was practically the only gold-standard country in the world, with the countries of the Latin Union as a receiving reservoir at her back. To-day nearly every country of Europe and North America would be ready and eager to take the gold. The effect of a larger production of gold will therefore be now much less than 40 years ago, and certainly much slower. It will only be felt when and as the silver exchanges are



affected, and of this there is no sign as yet. The real remedy consists in legislation, which has done the mischief and which alone can undo it.

Mr. BARR ROBERTSON: Mr. Probyn has said that commodities exchange for commodities and not for gold. That is one of the delusions by which some people are led to believe that there has been no such change as we contend there has been. It is true commodities do exchange for commodities in the world's commerce, but when they come to be rated by merchants or by individuals, they are rated in Europe in gold and in Asia in silver. We have contracted prices, but in India they have not; consequently our debts are increased. It now takes £166 in commodities of the prices of twenty years ago to pay a debt of £100 contracted twenty years ago. The case of Australia to my mind exactly proves our point. Wool has fallen in value, but if Australia had had a silver standard wool would have stood practically at the price where it was twenty years ago, and instead of Australia suffering as it is doing at present, it would be receiving nearly double the price it now receives. It finds that the commodities which would have repaid £100 will now only repay £60. I quite admit there is a good deal in what Sir W. Hunter says, but I think he altogether underrates the influence of the currency question, which in my opinion is the real trouble in Europe and the United States at the present time, and is the difference between Asia and Europe.

Mr. STEPHEN BOURNE: I rather fear that the discussion of this currency question may be waste of time, and for this reason—that the moment we attempt to fix some definite relation between gold and silver, we are sure to find something occur to upset it. I think it is a mistake to talk on the appreciation of gold. It is the depreciation of commodities—the same thing, you may say, but they point to different causes. The value of our commodities is depreciated because we are exposed to the keen competition, the growing intelligence, and the cheapness of labour in other countries, and I cannot see how any alteration of the currency would alter that condition of affairs. As regards the plea that bi-metallism would be advantageous for Manchester in competition with India, I think, the last place in the world in which it should be sought to introduce legislation which would benefit the people of this country to the detriment of the people of our Colonies and dependencies, is the Colonial Institute. We represent not merely England and Manchester, but the whole British Empire, and I cannot think it would

be a right thing to alter the currency system in order to check the progress of India.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think you will all agree that Mr. Whitehead has given us a very valuable paper, and I hope you have all been as much interested as I have been in the important discussion that has taken place. For my own part, when I listen to these discussions on the currency question, I am very much inclined to sympathise with the celebrated judge who complained that when he was set to try a case he was expected to hear both sides of the question. As long as he was hearing one side he had no difficulty, but when he came to hear the other the trouble began. I think, however, that what we have heard to-night will send us home knowing more about the question. There is just one point I would allude to. I believe most of us—and I feel quite sure all connected with the agricultural interest—have no doubt that the low prices which at present exist are a great disadvantage to the country generally. There are, however, some who believe that these low prices are a great blessing. Sir W. Harcourt, in the debate the other night, distinctly said so, and I think he even went the length of implying that if prices went still lower the blessing would be greater. It must be obvious that anyone who holds this view is not likely to consider favourably any scheme which would have the effect of raising prices, and therefore it seems to me worth while to allude to this point—to which I would call Mr. Courtney's attention—as it is one which must be swept away before we can expect people to entertain the remedy proposed for the depression. I beg to propose a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

MR. T. H. WHITEHEAD: The currency question is indeed a complex one, and recondite to many men. Public opinion has to be educated, and we have to get over the bias and antipathy of the British people to anything which may be new, not because the change may have any defect, but simply because it is a change. A few months ago, when one of England's most eminent Professors was asked for his views on the monetary problem, he remarked that both of the precious metals had given him a wide berth, and that he could endure a more intimate acquaintance with either silver or gold. Pressed further for an expression of his opinion, he stated that he had listened to the advocates who favoured the single, and to those who favoured the joint standard, and tried to understand, but he had failed to realise the economic situation. He further added that they reminded him of Scottish metaphysics—they were like unto one man trying to explain unto another that which he

himself did not understand. However, this important meeting has had the opportunity of hearing the most able and impressive speeches of the Right Hon. Leonard Courtney and Sir David Barbour, both distinguished experts on this vast subject. With reference to what Mr. Courtney has said about the closing of the Indian mints, we are well aware that the Indian Government have derived an advantage from the consequent maintenance of the rupee at a higher gold price than its metallic value, but it is greatly to be feared that the annual bounty of over £2,000,000, which the closing of the Indian mints offers to China and Japan—and these figures are well within the mark—to manufacture for their own requirements and be independent of the product of Indian mills, may ultimately turn the balance of trade against India, and thus more than neutralise the pecuniary benefit which India temporarily gains from the artificial protection extended to the rupee. The economic conditions of the East and West, as pointed out in my paper, were adjusted to each other under the old basis, when the joint standard was maintained, though the advantage was even then in favour of the East. That, however, with the superior force and power—physical and intellectual—of the British race was grappled with and surmounted. What British labour cannot successfully cope with is the additional advantage, now amounting to not less than 100 per cent., which the Asiatic races derive from the divergence between gold and silver. The value of Asiatic labour having now been reduced by upwards of 55 per cent. in gold money compared with what it was formerly, is a disability of such magnitude that the British race cannot possibly compete against. It is our monometallic law which creates and establishes this disability, and causes this vast estrangement between the labour markets of the East and the West. Unless our monetary law is amended and this disability thereby modified it cannot be modified in any other way: or unless British labour is prepared to accept a large reduction of wages, British industrial trades must inevitably leave British shores, and in addition to that the products of Asiatic labour will, sooner or later, have considerable influence in, if they do not dominate the markets of Europe. Let me offer my most grateful thanks for your cordial vote, and for the patience with which you listened to the reading of my paper. I have great pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to our Chairman, who has kindly and most ably presided over this meeting, in which I am sure you will heartily and cordially join.

## TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE Twenty-Seventh Annual General Meeting was held in the Library of the Institute, Northumberland Avenue, on Tuesday, February 19, 1895.

Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., presided.

Amongst those present were the following :—

SIR JOHN AKERMAN, K.C.M.G., SIR HENRY BARKLY, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., MESSRS. WALTER BARRATT, H. H. BEAUCHAMP, STEPHEN BOURNE, F. R. BRADFORD, DR. A. M. BROWN, MR. F. CARTER, COLONEL H. CAUTLEY, R.E., SIR FIELDING CLARKE, MESSRS. JOHN CLARK, FRANK M. DUTTON, FRED DUTTON, C. WASHINGTON EVES, C.M.G., W. MAYNARD FARMER, J. FULTON, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY GREEN, K.C.S.I., C.B., MESSRS. W. S. SEBBRIGHT GREEN, W. G. HALES, SIR ROBERT G. W. HERBERT, G.C.B., DR. C. INGLIS, MESSRS. H. J. JOURDAIN, C.M.G., R. A. KER, W. KESWICK, SURGEON-MAJOR J. J. LAMPREY, LIEUT.-GENERAL R. W. LOWRY, C.B., MESSRS. R. C. LYALL, J. L. LYELL, A. MACKENZIE MACKAY, G. S. MACKENZIE, ADMIRAL F. A. MAXSE, MAJOR ROPER PARKINGTON, MR. GEORGE R. PARKIN, M.A., SIR WESTBY B. PERCEVAL, K.C.M.G., LIEUT.-GENERAL GORDON PRITCHARD, C.B., CAPTAIN W. P. ROCHE, MR. E. G. SALMON, SIR AMBROSE SHEA, K.C.M.G., MESSRS. H. G. SLADE, JOHN STUART, L. W. THRUPP, J. BAYLDON WALKER, HON. T. H. WHITEHEAD, MESSRS. J. P. G. WILLIAMSON, GEO. WOOD, T. L. WOOD, SIR JAMES A. YOUL, K.C.M.G., MR. J. S. O'HALLORAN (SECRETARY).

The Secretary read the notice convening the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN : In accordance with our rules, I beg to nominate two scrutineers, Mr. Henry J. Jourdain, a Councillor, and Mr. J. Fulton, on the part of the Fellows, to take the ballot for the Council under Rule 62. The ballot will remain open for half an hour. I regret to have a very painful announcement to make to the meeting. It is that our old and esteemed fellow Councillor, Mr. F. P. de Labilliere, who for more than twenty years was on the Council, died this morning. He was a particular personal friend of mine, and each of us, in fact, will feel his loss very deeply. His death is also a great loss to the Institute, of which he was a most loyal supporter, and whose interests he tried by every means in his power to promote. The news of Mr. de Labilliere's death came to me only a few hours ago. The Council have passed a resolution of sympathy with the family, which we should like to ask this meeting to confirm. It is as follows : " The Council of the Royal Colonial Institute, for themselves and on behalf of the Fellows assembled in Annual Meeting, deeply deplore the death of Mr. F. P. de Labilliere, an earnest friend and zealous supporter of the Institute, who, as one of its earliest adherents, and an active member of its



governing body for upwards of twenty years, worked assiduously in promoting its best interests and establishing it on a sound and permanent basis. The Council desire to convey to Mrs. de Labilliere and the family of their valued and lamented colleague the assurance of the sincere sympathy of themselves and the Fellows in the sad and irreparable loss which they have sustained."

Sir JAMES A. YOUL, K.C.M.G.: I beg to second that motion. As one who was associated with Mr. de Labilliere during the whole course of his connection with this Institute, I can bear testimony to the work he did for it. For some years he acted as assistant-secretary to Mr. Young, and did good service in that and in many other ways. There is scarcely a man who will be more missed than he will be.

The resolution was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN: There is one other point I wish to mention with reference to this sad piece of news, Mr. de Labilliere was one of the members of the Council to retire by rotation this year. The Council feel they are only consulting the feeling of the Fellows in suggesting that the vacancy should not be filled on this occasion. It is too soon, as Mr. de Labilliere only died this morning, and we feel that a little time should be allowed to elapse before anyone else is nominated.

The minutes of the annual meeting held on Feb. 27, 1894, were read and confirmed.

The CHAIRMAN: I am extremely sorry to say that our distinguished Treasurer, Sir Montagu Ommanney, is ill at home, and consequently not able to be present and make his usual financial statement. Sir Montagu has, however, written a letter, which I am sure you will all be pleased to hear.

Downing Street, s.w. February 19, 1895.

Dear Mr. O'Halloran,—I am suffering from such a heavy cold that I am very reluctantly compelled to be absent from the Annual Meeting this afternoon. Will you kindly make my apology to the Chairman, and assure him that I greatly regret not to be present on an occasion to which I always look forward with interest.

But I should have had very little to say; the Accounts present the same satisfactory features as for many years past. The income is well maintained, the expenses are moderate, and show even a small decrease. We carry forward to 1895 a larger balance than in either of the two last years. Our debt is steadily decreasing, and the eminently satisfactory relation of our assets to our liabilities has been materially strengthened.

We could not, I think, have better evidence of the thoroughly sound financial position of the Institute.

Yours very truly,  
M. F. OMMANNEY.

J. S. O'Halloran, Esq.

The Annual Report, which had been previously circulated amongst the Fellows, was taken as read.

### REPORT.

THE Council have much pleasure in presenting to the Fellows their Twenty-seventh Annual Report.

During the past year 89 Resident and 171 Non-Resident Fellows have been elected, or a total of 260, as compared with 59 Resident and 184 Non-Resident, or a total of 243, during the preceding year. On December 31, 1894, the list included 1,807 Resident, 2,440 Non-Resident, and 10 Honorary Fellows, or 3,757 in all, of whom 856 have compounded for the Annual Subscription, and thus qualified as Life Fellows.

The Honorary Treasurer's Statement of Accounts shows an increase in receipts and a decrease in expenditure as compared with 1893. The Loan raised for purchasing the freehold site, &c., in Northumberland Avenue—originally £35,020—stood at £22,650 9s. 11d. at the close of last year: thus enabling the Council to effect a slight reduction in the rate of interest hitherto paid.

The obituary of the year 1894 comprises the names of 65 Fellows, including two Vice-Presidents and one Councillor—

Captain A. P. Aglen (Natal), *The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Albemarle, K.C.M.G.* (the first President of the Institute, one of its principal founders, and for many years a Vice-President), David Arnot (Cape Colony), Hon. Alex. Barr, M.C.P. (British Guiana), Rev. Brymer Belcher, R. H. Bland (Victoria), Sir John Cox Bray, K.C.M.G. (South Australia), Arthur Brown (late of Queensland), Hutchinson H. Browne, J.P., W. J. Browne (South Australia), W. W. Cargill, Charles A. Celliers (Transvaal), John Chapman, M.D., John F. Churchill (late of Ceylon), H. W. A. Cooper (Transvaal), F. G. Dalgety (late of Victoria), Francis Damian (Trinidad), Patrick C. Don, C. Cholmeley Dowling (late of New Zealand), William Eagleston (Victoria), Sir Adam G. Ellis (Chief Justice of Jamaica), Hon. Peter Faucett, M.L.C. (New South Wales), Rev. Wm. Roby Fletcher (South Australia), James French (Cape Colony), J. A. Froude, M.A. F.R.S., Denis M. Gallagher (late of British Guiana), W. P. B. Goodridge, L.R.C.P. (Indian Emigration Service), R. Dundas Graham (late of Cape Colony), William S. Grahame (late of New Zealand), F. K. Hampshire, M.B. (late of the Straits Settlements), Henry Higgins (late of Turks Island), Rudolf Hinrichsen (Cape Colony), the Hon. Louis Hope, D. R. Hurley (Cape Colony), Edward Lloyd Jones (New South Wales), Rev. Joseph Keelan (British Guiana), John C. Kemsley (Cape Colony), Arthur G. Lacy (Western Australia), A. L. Layton (British Guiana), Rt. Rev. Sydney Linton, D.D. (Lord Bishop of Riverina), Lt.-General Sir Patrick L. MacDougall, K.C.M.G.,

*Duncan MacLarty, M.D., John Marcus, Alexander J. Miller (Victoria), Rt. Hon. Viscount Monck, G.C.M.G. (a Vice-President), J. C. Morgan (New South Wales), M. C. Morgan (Jamaica), Charles J. Nairn (late of New Zealand), Wm. Edwin Paddon, J. W. Parkin (Jamaica), Peter Redpath (a Councillor), Ernest T. Rhodes (New Zealand), George Wm. Roche (Victoria), John Rogerson, John B. Russell (New Zealand), Hon. T. J. Sawyerr, M.L.C. (Sierra Leone), R. Ffrench Sheriff (Gibraltar), Rt. Rev. A. W. Sillitoe, D.D. (Lord Bishop of New Westminster), J. J. Southgate (late of British Columbia), Charles H. Stewart, C.M.G. (late of Ceylon), P. J. Tobin (New South Wales), J. L. Trimmingham (Bermuda), L. A. Vintcent, M.L.A. (Cape Colony), Robert White (Cape Colony), Alfred C. Wilde (Cape Colony).*

His Royal Highness the Duke of York, who formed an extensive acquaintance with Her Majesty's Colonies during his service in the Royal Navy, has been pleased to do the Institute the honour of accepting the position of a Vice-President.

Since the date of the last Annual Meeting vacancies on the Council have arisen through the deaths of the Earl of Albemarle, K.C.M.G., and Viscount Monck, G.C.M.G., Vice-Presidents, and the resignation of Lieut.-Gen. Sir W. F. Drummond Jervois, G.C.M.G., C.B., F.R.S., Councillor. The vacancies have been filled up, under the provisions of Rule 6, by the appointment, *ad interim*, subject to confirmation by the Fellows, of H.R.H. the Duke of York, K.G., and the Earl of Jersey, G.C.M.G., as Vice-Presidents; and Sir Westby B. Perceval, K.C.M.G., as Councillor. The following retire in conformity with Rule 7, and are eligible for re-election:—Vice-Presidents: The Duke of Argyll, K.G., K.T.; the Earl of Cranbrook, G.C.S.I.; Lord Brassey, K.C.B.; Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart.; and Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G. Councillors: Mr. C. Washington Eves, C.M.G.; Mr. W. Maynard Farmer; Mr. F. P. de Labillière; Sir Charles Mills, K.C.M.G., C.B.; Mr. J. R. Mosse; and Sir F. Villeneuve Smith.

A Banquet to celebrate the Twenty-sixth Anniversary of the foundation of the Institute took place at the Whitehall Rooms on March 7. The Earl of Dunraven, K.P., presided, and H.R.H. Prince Christian, K.G., honoured the Institute with his presence on the occasion.

The Annual Conversazione was held at the Natural History Museum, Cromwell Road, on June 28, by the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, and was attended by over 2,000 guests representing all parts of the British Empire.

The following Papers have been read and discussed since the date of the last Annual Report:—

Ordinary Meetings:

“The British Empire.” General Sir George Chesney, K.C.B., C.S.I., C.I.E., M.P.

"The History of the Matabele, and the Cause and Effect of the Matabele War." F. C. Selous.

"Recent Economic Developments of Australian Enterprise." The Hon. James Inglis.

"Canada in relation to the Unity of the Empire." Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., G.C.M.G., C.B.

"The Islands of the Western Pacific." The Right Rev. Bishop Selwyn, D.D.

"Colonial Expansion." Miss Flora L. Shaw.

"The Ottawa Conference: its National Significance." Sir Henry J. Wrixon, K.C.M.G., Q.C.

"Whales, and British and Colonial Whale Fisheries." Sir William H. Flower, K.C.B., F.R.S.

#### Afternoon Meetings :

"Social and Intellectual Aspects of Australian Life." Miss C. H. Spence.

"The Possibilities of the North-West District of British Guiana." George G. Dixon.

"Cyprus and its Resources." T. E. Mavrogordato.

In order that the convenience of the Fellows might be definitely ascertained, the Institute was for twelve months kept open from 10 A.M. to 10 P.M., instead of from 10 A.M. to 6 P.M. as formerly. The attendance, however, was not such as to justify the additional expense incurred, the privilege having been availed of by a small number of Fellows only with but little variation throughout the year. Under these circumstances the Council have arranged to keep the building open on weekdays from 10 A.M. to 8 P.M., except during August and September, when it will close at 6 P.M., as the majority of Fellows are then out of town, and the annual cleaning and repairs are most conveniently done during those months.

The additions to the Library during the year numbered 982 volumes (of which 198 were purchased and 784 acquired by donation), 2,188 pamphlets and parts, 32,593 newspapers, 11 maps, and 88 miscellaneous gifts. Amongst the more important are the following:—"Report of the Scientific Results of the Voyage of H.M.S. *Challenger*," presented by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury; Gould's "Birds of New Guinea and the Adjacent Papuan Islands"; Hovell and Hume's "Journey of Discovery to Port Phillip in 1824-25"; Westmacott's "Sketches in Australia," 1848; Whitbourne's "Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland," 1622; Moore's "Birman Empire," 1825;



Harrisse's "Discovery of North America"; Moore's "Lepidoptera of Ceylon"; Jack and Etheridge's "Geology and Palæontology of Queensland and New Guinea"; Bowler's "Pictorial Album of Cape Town," 1866; Stevens's "Christopher Columbus: His own Book of Privileges," 1502; Butler's "South African Sketches," 1841; Lucas's "Campaign in South Africa," 1861; Danver's "Portuguese in India," 1894; Pollock's "Sporting Days in Southern India"; Bancroft's "History of British Columbia"; Singleton's "Description of the West Indies: a Poem," 1777; Douglas's "Bombay and Western India"; "The Log-book of the Barque *Alfred* from Port Jackson on a Whaling Voyage to the Northward," 1828-29 (MS.); Gully's "New Zealand Scenery"; Moorhouse's "Vocabulary of the Murray River Language, South Australia," 1846; Malleon's "Life of Warren Hastings," 1894; Fraser's "History of Trinidad from 1781 to 1813"; "The Historical Records of New South Wales," vol. ii. (Grose and Paterson), 1793-95; MacGeorge's "Ways and Works in India," 1894; Harvey's "Newfoundland in 1894"; Von Haast's "Report on the Formation of the Canterbury Plains," 1864; "Ordinances and Proceedings of the Provincial Council of the Province of Canterbury, New Zealand"; Coote's "Voyage of Albericus Vespuccius from Lisbon to India, 1505-6"; Rodway and Watt's "Chronological History of the Discovery and Settlement of Guiana, 1493-1668"; Cox's "Men of Mark of New Zealand"; Adams's "Wanderings of a Naturalist in India," 1867; Mrs. Lewis's "Lady's Impressions of Cyprus"; Guillemard's "Malaysia and the Pacific Archipelagoes," 1894.

The Council have to acknowledge their indebtedness to a large number of donors, including the Imperial Government and the Governments of the various Colonies and India, the Agents-General for the Colonies in London, Societies, and other public Institutions both in Great Britain and the Colonies, as well as to Publishers, Proprietors of numerous Newspapers and Magazines, and Fellows of the Institute and others, a complete list of whom is appended. The New Catalogue of the Library, to which reference was made in the last Annual Report, has now been issued, and is a valuable guide to the literature of the Colonies and India as well as a work of reference regarding their history, government, trade, and development. The price of the Catalogue, the issue of which is limited to 500 copies, has been fixed at £2 2s., but it will be supplied to Fellows at the reduced price of £1 11s. 6d. A Meeting of the Library Association of the United Kingdom (to whom the use of the Library was granted) was held on May 29 last, when a Paper was

read by the Librarian, Mr. James R. Boosé, on the "Library of the Royal Colonial Institute," and many of the chief works of interest were exhibited. On December 31, 1894, the Library contained 13,218 volumes, 9,668 pamphlets, and 295 files of newspapers.

The Institute has been visited by the general public to a large and increasing extent in order to obtain information and advice upon various Colonial questions.

For many years past the Council have urged the various educational and examining bodies of the United Kingdom to give greater prominence to the study of Colonial subjects, and promised their hearty co-operation to any well-considered scheme that might be devised. The "Geographical Association"—which was founded, at a meeting of public school masters held in Oxford in May 1893, to improve the status and teaching of geography in schools—recently held their annual general meeting in the Institute Library, when Mr. H. J. Mackinder, M.A., Reader in Geography to the University of Oxford, gave an address on "Geography as a Training for the Mind," and Mr. B. Bentham Dickinson, of Rugby, exhibited a series of lantern slides which had been specially made under his direction for educational purposes.

A petition has been addressed by the Council to Her Majesty the Queen, pointing out that, whereas other nations have annual days for universal national celebration—such as the Fourth of July in the United States—and the Colonies have similar celebrations, such as Dominion Day in Canada, there is no such day observed throughout the British Empire. The Council therefore prayed that one day in the year should be set apart for the purpose throughout all Her Majesty's dominions, or at least throughout all portions of them inhabited by people of our race and language, and further suggested that, no day in the year would be so popular and appropriate for such a celebration as the birthday of the Queen. The Prime Minister, however, stated in reply that he thought the matter one in which the community generally should take action rather than the Executive Government; that so far as the public departments here are concerned the day in question is already kept as a holiday; that Her Majesty's birthday usually falls about the same time as Whit Monday, which is already a recognised Bank Holiday, and that there are obvious objections to appointing another public holiday at that season.

The Council, in anticipation of Colonial opinion, felt it their duty to address to the Chancellor of the Exchequer a memorial pointing out in detail the effect upon Colonists domiciled in the

United Kingdom of a proposal in the Finance Bill of 1894 to include, as being liable to payment of the new estate duty, personal property situate in the Colonies, and urging objections to the principle involved in such proposal, which, if carried into law, would render such property liable to the payment of double duties. The question thus raised excited much attention in the Colonies, and was subsequently brought under the notice of Her Majesty's Government by the High Commissioner for Canada and the Agents-General. As a result of the action thus taken alterations were made in the measure providing for the deduction of any death duty charged in a Colony from the estate duty payable in the United Kingdom, and a grievance that at one time threatened to give rise to considerable friction between the Colonies and the Mother Country was eventually removed.

The Council regard as an event of national importance the recent Conference at Ottawa, when representatives of Great Britain, Canada, Australasia, and South Africa met to discuss proposals for bringing the Mother Country and the Colonies into closer communication, and furthering the development of commercial and other interests for their mutual benefit. It is significant that the idea of the unity of the Empire was predominant throughout the proceedings, and that every speaker gave marked expression to that sentiment. It is also worthy of note that this is the first occasion on which official representatives from various parts of the Empire, including the United Kingdom, have assembled in a British Colony for the purpose of conferring upon matters of Imperial interest.

The sad and sudden death of the Right Hon. Sir John Thompson, K.C.M.G., Prime Minister of Canada, evoked a feeling of deep national sympathy. On the preceding day he attended a meeting of this Institute, when he spoke of the work of the Ottawa Conference and expressed a hope "that the day has come, not only when the Colonies should be united more closely together, but when they can be made more practically useful in connection with the heart of the Empire itself." The Council telegraphed to the Earl of Aberdeen, Governor-General of the Dominion, requesting him, as a Vice-President of the Institute, to convey their condolences to Lady Thompson, and also to the Canadian people, on the loss which they, in common with the whole Empire, had sustained.

The extension to the Colonial Forces throughout the Empire of the long service decoration awarded to the Home Volunteers is regarded with especial interest by the Council. It will be remem-

bered that the Colonial Forces were for the first time included in the official *Army List* after urgent representations on the subject had been made to the authorities by this Institute.

The Council observe with much satisfaction the steady progress and development of South Africa since the termination of the Matabele War, and the important outlets for British trade and industry that are there being opened up.

In conclusion, the Council congratulate the Fellows on the evidence they continue to receive of the practical usefulness of the work which the Institute performs in disseminating authentic information on Colonial subjects to all inquirers, and promoting the great cause of national unity.

By Order of the Council,

J. S. O'HALLORAN,

*Secretary.*

*January 22, 1895.*



ASSETS AND LIABILITIES, DECEMBER 31, 1894.

LIABILITIES.		ASSETS.	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Sundry Accounts.....	1,092 13 11	By Subscriptions outstanding £582. 11s., estimated at .....	291 5 6
" Balance of Loan for Purchase of Site and to pay off Debentures on security of Mortgage 22,650 9 11		" Property of the Institute—	
		Building (cost price) .....	£20,070 3 10
		Furniture.....	£1,956 1 4
		Less Depreciation,	
		say 5 % .....	97 16 1
			1,858 5 3
Balance in favour of Assets .....	34,902 3 9	Books &c., valued at .....	4,750 0 0
			26,678 9 1
		" Cost of Freehold .....	30,520 0 0
			57,489 14 7
		Balance at Bank .....	£1,144 1 4
		" in hands of Secretary .....	11 11 8
			1,155 13 0
			£58,645 7 7

M. F. OMMANNEY,  
Hon. Treasurer.

January 1, 1895.

Examined and found correct. A list of the Fellows in arrear on the 31st December, 1894, has—in conformity with Rule 22a—been laid before the Auditors by the Honorary Treasurer, showing an amount due to the Institute of £582 11s.

J. R. MOSSE, } Hon. Auditors.  
W. G. DEVON ASTLE, }

January 21, 1895.

## STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS

FOR THE YEAR ENDING

RECEIPTS.		£	s.	d.
Bank Balance as per last Account .....	£832 13 2			
Cash in hands of Secretary .....	2 15 5			
		835	8	7
6 Life Subscriptions of £20 .....	£120 0 0			
22 " " £10 .....	220 0 0			
12 " " to complete .....	153 3 0			
73 Entrance Fees of £3 .....	219 0 0			
153 " " £1. 1s. ....	160 13 0			
9 " " to complete .....	17 11 0			
1,204 Subscriptions of £2 .....	2,408 0 0			
1,556 " £1. 1s. ....	1,633 16 0			
150 " £1 and under to complete...	135 8 0			
		5,067	11	0
26th Anniversary Banquet, Amount received in connection with		151	4	0
Conversazione, ditto .....		219	15	0
Rent for one year to December 25, 1894, less Property Tax .....		1,191	5	0
Insurance repaid .....		7	7	0
Interest on Deposit .....		3	14	6
Proceeds of Sale of Papers &c. ....		40	4	0
Journal .....		381	17	6

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 £7,898 6 7

Examined and found correct.

J. R. MOSSE,  
 W. G. DEVON ASTLE, } *Hon. Auditors.*  
 January 21, 1895.

## AND PAYMENTS

DECEMBER 31, 1894.

## PAYMENTS.

	£	s.	d.
Salaries and Wages.....	1,683	16	2
Proceedings—Printing &c. ....	388	4	9
Journal—			
Printing.....	£283	5	3
Postage .....	132	5	4
		415	10 7
Printing, ordinary .....		83	13 0
Postages, ordinary .....		169	16 3
Geographical Association (for teaching Geography in Schools)...		3	3 0
Advertising Meetings .....		41	10 1
Meetings, Expenses of .....		210	10 0
Reporting Meetings .....		35	19 0
Stationery.....		175	9 10
Newspapers .....		128	3 2
Library—			
Books .....	£130	19	9
Binding .....	38	9	3
Maps .....	1	15	6
		171	4 6
Fuel, Light, &c. ....		169	15 3
Building—Repairs and Furniture.....		105	2 6
Guests' Dinner Fund .....		38	17 11
Rates and Taxes .....		304	7 10
Fire Insurance.....		24	0 3
Law Charges .....		18	18 0
26th Anniversary Banquet .....		172	16 0
Conversazione—			
Refreshments.....	£158	12	0
Electric Lighting &c. ....	143	15	7
Floral Decorations .....	30	0	0
Music .....	48	6	0
Printing .....	14	5	0
Fittings, Furniture, &c. ....	30	10	0
Attendance &c. ....	26	13	3
		452	1 10
Gratuity .....		80	0 0
Miscellaneous .....		58	13 4
Subscriptions paid in error refunded .....		17	5 0
Payments on Account of Mortgage—			
Interest .....	£958	16	11
Principal.....	834	18	5
		1,793	15 4
		6,742	13 7
Balance in hand as per Bank Book.....	£1,144	1	4
Cash in hands of Secretary .....	11	11	8
		1,155	13 0
		£7,898	6 7

M. F. OMMANNEY,

*Honorary Treasurer.*

January 1, 1895.

## LIST OF DONORS TO THE LIBRARY—1894.

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- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| Aborigines Protection Society         | Australasian Insurance and Banking     |
| Adderley, Sir Augustus, J., K.C.M.G.  | Record, Proprietors of                 |
| Adelaide, Bank of                     | Australasian Ironmonger, Proprietors   |
| Affleck & Co., Messrs. T., Albury,    | of                                     |
| New South Wales                       | Australasian Journal of Pharmacy,      |
| African Review, Proprietors of        | Proprietors of                         |
| African Times, Proprietors of         | Australasian Medical Gazette, Pro-     |
| Albany Chamber of Commerce, West-     | rietors of                             |
| ern Australia                         | Australian Irrigation Colonies, Pro-   |
| Albury Border Post, Proprietors of    | rietors of                             |
| Alger, John                           | Australian Mail, Proprietors of        |
| Allen & Co., Messrs. W. H.            | Australian Medical Journal, Proprie-   |
| American Colonization Society (Wash-  | tors of                                |
| ington)                               | Australian Mining Standard (Sydney),   |
| American Geographical Society (New    | Proprietors of                         |
| York)                                 | Australian Museum (Sydney), Trus-      |
| Anderson, Anderson, & Co., Messrs.    | tees of                                |
| Anglo-Saxon (Ottawa), Proprietors of  | Australian Trading World, Proprietors  |
| Anthropological Institute             | of                                     |
| Antigua, Department of Agriculture    | Baden-Powell, Sir G.S., K.C.M.G., M.P. |
| of                                    | Bahamas, Government of the             |
| Antigua Observer, Proprietors of      | Baillairge, Chevalier C. (Quebec)      |
| Antigua Standard, Proprietors of      | Baker, A. P.                           |
| Argosy (British Guiana), Proprietors  | Ballarat Star, Proprietors of          |
| of                                    | Balme, Messrs. C., & Co.               |
| Argus Printing and Publishing Co.,    | Bank of Australasia                    |
| Cape Town                             | Bankers' Institute of Australasia      |
| Armidale Express (N.S. Wales). Pro-   | Barbados General Agricultural Society  |
| prietors of                           | Barbados Globe, Proprietors of         |
| Army and Navy Invalid and Training    | Barbados, Government of                |
| Homes                                 | Barbados Herald, Proprietors of        |
| Assam, Chief Commissioner of          | Beaufort Courier (Cape Colony), Pro-   |
| Attenborough, Mark (South Austra-     | prietors of                            |
| lia)                                  | Beaumont, John                         |
| Aubertin, J. J.                       | Bechuanaland News, Proprietors of      |
| Auckland Free Public Library          | Bedford Enterprise (Cape Colony),      |
| Auckland Star, Proprietors of         | Proprietors of                         |
| Australasian (Melbourne), Proprietors | Beira Correio, Proprietors of          |
| of                                    | Belgian News, Proprietors of           |
| Australasian Army, Navy, and Defence  | Belize Independent, Proprietors of     |
| Review, Proprietors of                | Bell & Sons, Messrs. G.                |
| Australasian Association for the Ad-  | Bendigo Advertiser (Victoria), Pro-    |
| vancement of Science                  | prietors of                            |



- Bengal Chamber of Commerce  
 Bennett, Mrs. George (Sydney)  
 Berbice Gazette, Proprietors of  
 Black, Dr. Ernest (Western Australia)  
 Board of Trade  
 Board of Trade, Dennis (Manitoba)  
 Bombay, Government of  
 Boosé, J. R.  
 Bourinot, Dr. J. G., C.M.G. (Canada)  
 Brandstetter, Dr. Renward  
 Brassey, Hon. T. A.  
 Brisbane Chamber of Commerce  
 Brisbane Courier (Queensland), Proprietors of  
 British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society  
 British and South African Export Gazette, Proprietors of  
 British Australasian, Proprietors of  
 British Columbia, Agent-General for  
 British Columbia, Government of  
 British Export Journal, Proprietors of  
 British Freeland Association  
 British Guiana, Government of  
 British Guiana, Immigration Department  
 British Guiana Medical Annual, Editors of  
 British Guiana Mining Gazette, Proprietors of  
 British Guiana, Registrar-General of  
 British Guiana, Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society of  
 British Honduras, Government of  
 British Honduras Syndicate, Ltd.  
 British Museum, Trustees of  
 British New Guinea, Governor of  
 British North Borneo Co.  
 British North Borneo, Governor of  
 British South Africa Co.  
 British Trade Journal, Proprietors of  
 Broken Hill Age, Proprietors of  
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 Bruck, Ludwig (Sydney)  
 Budget (New Plymouth, New Zealand), Proprietors of  
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 Butterworth, A. R. (Sydney)  
 Cairns Argus (Queensland), Proprietors of  
 Calvert, A. F.  
 Calvert, John  
 Cambridge University Library  
 Canada, Government of  
 Canada, High Commissioner for  
 Canada, Royal Society of  
 Canadian Bankers' Association  
 Canadian Colliery Guardian Co., Nova Scotia  
 Canadian Institute (Toronto, Canada)  
 Canadian Magazine (Toronto), Proprietors of  
 Canadian Mining Review, Proprietors of  
 Canadian Pacific Railway Company  
 Canterbury Agricultural and Pastoral Association  
 Canterbury Chamber of Commerce  
 Canterbury College (New Zealand)  
 Canterbury Times (New Zealand), Proprietors of  
 Cape Argus, Proprietors of  
 Cape Argus (Home Edition), Proprietors of  
 Cape Church Monthly, Proprietors of  
 Cape Illustrated Magazine, Proprietors of  
 Cape Mercury, Proprietors of  
 Cape of Good Hope, Agent-General for  
 Cape of Good Hope Department of Lands, Mines, and Agriculture  
 Cape of Good Hope, Government of  
 Cape of Good Hope, Supt.-General of Education  
 Cape Times, Proprietors of  
 Cape Town Chamber of Commerce  
 Capitalist, Proprietors of  
 Capricornian (Queensland), Proprietors of  
 Cassell & Co., Messrs.  
 Ceylon Association in London  
 Ceylon Examiner, Proprietors of  
 Ceylon, Government of  
 Ceylon Observer, Proprietors of  
 Chailley-Bert, J.  
 Chambers, C. Pearson  
 Chambers, Messrs. W. & R.  
 Chapman & Hall, Messrs.  
 Charity Organisation Society  
 Charleton, A. G.  
 Charlottetown Herald (P.E.I.), Proprietors of  
 Charters Towers Chamber of Commerce, Queensland  
 Chatto & Windus, Messrs.  
 Chemist and Druggist of Australasia, Proprietors of  
 Christchurch Press (New Zealand) Proprietors of  
 Christison, R.  
 Citizen, Proprietors of  
 Clarence and Richmond Examiner (New South Wales), Proprietors of  
 Clarendon Press  
 Clark, Mrs. K. McCosh

- Clarkson, Captain J. Booth  
 Clerkenwell Public Library  
 Collens, J. H. (Trinidad)  
 Colonial Bank  
 Colonial Bank of New Zealand  
 Colonial College  
 Colonial Guardian (British Honduras),  
 Proprietors of  
 Colonial Military Gazette (New South  
 Wales), Proprietors of  
 Colonial Museum, Haarlem  
 Colonial Museum (Wellington, New  
 Zealand)  
 Colonial Office  
 Colonial Standard (Jamaica), Pro-  
 prietors of  
 Colonies and India, Proprietors of  
 Colonist (Manitoba), Proprietors of  
 Commerce, Proprietors of  
 Commercial (Manitoba), Proprietors of  
 Constable & Co., Messrs. A.  
 Cooper, J. Astley  
 Cooper & Nephews, Messrs. W.  
 Coorg, Chief Commissioner of  
 Corporation of the City of London  
 Country (South Australia), Proprie-  
 tors of  
 Cousins, George  
 Cox, Horace  
 Critic (Nova Scotia), Proprietors of  
 Critic (Transvaal), Proprietors of  
 Croydon Public Libraries  
 Cullen, C. E.  
 Cyprus, Government of  
 Daily Chronicle (British Guiana),  
 Proprietors of  
 Daily Telegraph (New Brunswick),  
 Proprietors of  
 Dale, Horatio, M.A. (Ontario)  
 Davey, Flack, & Co., Messrs.  
 Davies, T. H.  
 Davis & Sons, Messrs. P. (Natal)  
 Dawson, Dr. Rankine, M.A.  
 Deffell, G. H.  
 De Peyster, Maj.-Gen. J. Watts (New  
 York)  
 Derby Free Public Library  
 De Souza, M. C. (Jamaica)  
 Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft  
 De Zuid Afrikaan, Proprietors of  
 Digby, Long, & Co., Messrs.  
 Doberck, W. (Hong Kong)  
 Dominica Guardian, Proprietors of  
 Dominican, Proprietors of  
 Dominion Illustrated Monthly  
 (Canada), Proprietors of  
 D'Orléans, H.R.H. Prince Henri  
 Douglas, James (New York)  
 Doyle, Dennis (Grahamstown)  
 Drysdale & Co., Messrs. W. (Montreal)  
 Dulau & Co., Messrs.  
 Durban Chamber of Commerce  
 Durban, Mayor of  
 East India Association  
 East End Emigration Fund  
 Edwards, E. H. (Seychelles)  
 Edwards, Stanley  
 Emigrants' Information Office  
 Empire (Toronto, Canada), Pro-  
 prietors of  
 Engineering Association of N.S.  
 Wales  
 England, Proprietors of  
 European Mail, Proprietors of  
 Evening Press (Wellington, New Zea-  
 land), Proprietors of  
 Eves, C. Washington, C.M.G.  
 Express (Orange Free State), Pro-  
 prietors of  
 Falkland Islands, Government of  
 Ferguson, Messrs. A. M. & J. (Ceylon)  
 Fiji, Government of  
 Fiji Times, Proprietors of  
 Finucane, Dr. M. I. (Fiji)  
 Fitzgibbon, E. G., C.M.G. (Melbourne)  
 Fort Beaufort Advocate, Proprietors of  
 Friend of the Free State, Proprietors of  
 Gagnon, Ernest (Quebec)  
 Gajjar, T. K. (Baroda, India)  
 Gambia, Government of  
 Garden and Field (South Australia),  
 Proprietors of  
 Garnett, W. J.  
 Geelong Advertiser, Proprietors of  
 Geological Survey of Canada  
 Georgetown Chamber of Commerce  
 Geraldton-Murchison Telegraph (W.  
 Australia), Proprietors of  
 Gibraltar, Government of  
 Girouard, Désiré (Quebec)  
 Gold Coast Chronicle, Proprietors of  
 Gold Coast Colony, Government of  
 Gordon & Gotch, Messrs.  
 Gough, E. H.  
 Gow, Wilson, & Stanton, Messrs.  
 Green, J. E. (Johannesburg)  
 Grenada, Government of  
 Grenada People, Proprietors of  
 Grinlinton, Sir J. J. (Ceylon)  
 Haggard, F. T.  
 Halifax Herald (Nova Scotia), Pro-  
 prietors of  
 Hamilton, J. C. (Toronto)  
 Hamilton Association (Canada)  
 Hanington, Dr. E. B. C. (British  
 Columbia)

- Harbor Grace Standard (Newfoundland), Proprietors of  
 Hardwicke, Dr. E. A.  
 Hart, J. H. (Trinidad)  
 Harvey, Rev. Dr. M. (Newfoundland)  
 Hawkins, S. (New South Wales)  
 Hawtayne, G. H., C.M.G. (British Guiana)  
 Hayter, H. H., C.M.G. (Melbourne)  
 Hazell, Watson, & Viney, Messrs.  
 Herbert, Sir Robert, G.W., G.C.B.  
 Heywood, John  
 Hobart Chamber of Commerce  
 Hobart Mercury, Proprietors of  
 Home and Colonial Mail, Proprietors of  
 Home and Farm (N.S.W.), Proprietors of  
 Home News, Proprietors of  
 Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce  
 Hong Kong Daily Press, Proprietors of  
 Hong Kong, Government of  
 Hotson, John (Melbourne)  
 Houghton, John (Auckland, N.Z.)  
 Hurst & Blackett, Messrs.  
 Hyderabad, Resident at  
 Hyman, C. P. (New South Wales)  
 Illustrated Australian News, Proprietors of  
 Imperial Federation Defence Committee  
 Imperial Federation League  
 Imperial Institute  
 im Thurn, E. F., C.M.G. (British Guiana)  
 India, Secretary of State for  
 Indian Engineer, Proprietors of  
 Ingemerog-Ferretero, Proprietors of  
 Inquirer and Commercial News (Western Australia), Proprietors of  
 Institut Colonial International, Bruxelles  
 Institute of Bankers  
 Institute of Chemistry of Great Britain  
 Institution of Civil Engineers  
 Invention, Proprietors of  
 Iron, Steel, and Coal Times, Proprietors of  
 Jack, Robert L., F.G.S. (Queensland)  
 Jamaica Board of Supervision  
 Jamaica Botanical Department  
 Jamaica Gleaner, Proprietors of  
 Jamaica, Government of  
 Jamaica Institute  
 Jamaica Post, Proprietors of  
 Jamaica, Registrar-General of  
 Jardine, C. K. (British Guiana)  
 Jessop, John (British Columbia)  
 Johnstone, Robert (Jamaica)  
 Kandt, Dr. Moritz (Berlin)  
 Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co. Messrs.  
 Kelly, C. H.  
 Kew Royal Gardens, Director of  
 Kimberley Corporation  
 Kinsey, J. J. (Christchurch, N.Z.)  
 Koninklijk Instituut ('s Gravenhage)  
 Labilliere, F. P. de  
 Lagos, Government of  
 Lagos Weekly Record, Proprietors of  
 Land Roll, Proprietors of  
 Launceston Examiner, Proprietors of  
 Leeds Public Library  
 Leeward Islands, Government of  
 Leigh, E. C. Austen  
 Lewins, Lt.-Colonel Robert  
 Library Syndicate (Cambridge)  
 Liverpool Geographical Society  
 Liverpool Public Library  
 Liversidge, A., F.R.S. (New South Wales)  
 London Chamber of Commerce  
 Longmans, Green, & Co., Messrs.  
 Lords Commissioners of H.M.'s Treasury  
 Low & Co., Messrs. Sampson  
 Lucas, Rev. D. V., D.D. (Canada)  
 Lyttelton Times (New Zealand), Proprietors of  
 Machinery, Proprietors of  
 Mackay Standard (Queensland), Proprietors of  
 Maclear, Miss (Cape Colony)  
 Maclear, Rear-Admiral J. P.  
 Madras Chamber of Commerce  
 Madras, Government of  
 Maitland Mercury (New South Wales), Proprietors of  
 Malta Chamber of Commerce  
 Malta, Government of  
 Malta Standard, Proprietors of  
 Malta Times, Proprietors of  
 Manchester Geographical Society  
 Manchester Public Free Libraries  
 Manitoba, Department of Agriculture  
 Manitoba Free Press, Proprietors of  
 Manitoba, Government of  
 Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society  
 Mark Lane Express, Proprietors of  
 Martin, Archer (Canada)  
 Martin, George (Montreal)  
 Maryborough Colonist, Proprietors of  
 Mauritius Chamber of Commerce  
 Mauritius, Government of

- McCarron, Stewart, & Co., Messrs.  
(Sydney)
- McGill College and University  
(Montreal)
- McLarty, F. M. (Penang)
- MacMillan, R. (Sydney)
- Melbourne Age, Proprietors of
- Melbourne Argus, Proprietors of
- Melbourne Chamber of Commerce
- Melbourne Exhibition Building,  
Trustees of
- Melbourne Leader, Proprietors of
- Melbourne Sun, Proprietors of
- Melbourne University
- Mennell, Philip
- Mercantile Advertiser (Transvaal),  
Proprietors of
- Mercantile Guardian, Proprietors of
- Merchants and Planters' Gazette  
(Mauritius), Proprietors of
- Middleton, W. H.
- Midland News (Cape Colony), Pro-  
prietors of
- Miner, The (British Columbia), Pro-  
prietors of
- Mining Journal, Proprietors of
- Money, Proprietors of
- Montreal Gazette, Proprietors of
- Montreal Harbour Commissioners
- Montreal Weekly Herald, Proprietors  
of
- Montreal Witness, Proprietors of
- Moon, The (Transvaal), Proprietors of
- Moore, Dr. J. Murray
- Moreton, S. H. (New Zealand)
- Morgan, H. J. (Canada)
- Morris, Dr. D., C.M.G.
- Morris, Nevile (Paramaribo)
- Mount Alexander Mail (Victoria),  
Proprietors of
- Mullins, Dr. G. L. (Sydney)
- Mysore, Resident in
- Nash, F. W. (Mauritius)
- Nassau Guardian (Bahamas), Pro-  
prietors of
- Natal, Agent-General for
- Natal, General Manager of Railways of
- Natal, Government of
- Natal Harbour Board
- Natal Mercury, Proprietors of
- Natal Search Light, Proprietors of
- Natal Witness, Proprietors of
- Nelson & Sons, Messrs. T.
- New Brunswick Historical Society
- Newcastle Chamber of Commerce  
(New South Wales)
- Newcastle Morning Herald (New  
South Wales), Proprietors of
- New South Wales, Agent-General for
- New South Wales, Department of  
Mines and Agriculture
- New South Wales, Department of  
Public Instruction
- New South Wales, Government of
- New South Wales Institute of Bankers
- New South Wales Railway Commis-  
sioners
- New South Wales, Royal Society of
- New Zealand, Agent-General for
- New Zealand, Department of Agricul-  
ture
- New Zealand, Department of Labour
- New Zealand, Government of
- New Zealand Graphic, Proprietors  
of
- New Zealand Herald, Proprietors of
- New Zealand Institute
- New Zealand Loan and Mercantile  
Agency
- New Zealand, Registrar-General of
- New Zealand University
- Noble, John, C.M.G. (Cape Town)
- North Borneo Herald, Proprietors of
- North Queensland Herald, Proprietors  
of
- North Queensland Register, Proprie-  
tors of
- Northern Argus (Queensland), Pro-  
prietors of
- Northern Territory Times (S. Aus-  
tralia), Proprietors of
- North-West Provinces and Oudh (In-  
dia), Government of
- Norwich Free Library
- Nova Scotia, Government of
- Nova Scotian Institute of Science
- Oamaru Mail (New Zealand), Pro-  
prietors of
- O'Brien, W. F.
- Ontario, Department of Agriculture
- Ontario, Government of
- Ontario, Minister of Education
- Otago Daily Times (New Zealand),  
Proprietors of
- Otago University, New Zealand
- Otago Witness, Proprietors of
- Ottawa Daily Citizen, Proprietors of
- Parkin, George R., M.A.
- Partridge & Co., Messrs. S. W.
- Payne, J. A. O. (Lagos)
- People's Journal (New Zealand), Pro-  
prietors of
- People's Paper (Jamaica), Proprietors  
of
- Perak, British Resident
- Perceval, Sir Westby B., K.C.M.G.



- Pictorial Australian (South Australia),  
 Proprietors of  
 Planter's Gazette, Proprietors of  
 Polynesian Society (New Zealand)  
 Port of Spain Gazette, Proprietors of  
 Potchefstroom Budget, Proprietors of  
 Pretoria Press (Transvaal), Proprietors  
 of  
 Province, The (British Columbia), Pro-  
 prietors of  
 Punjab, Government of  
 Quebec General Mining Association  
 Quebec, Government of  
 Queen's College and University, Kings-  
 ton, Canada  
 Queensland, Agent-General for  
 Queensland, Department of Agriculture  
 Queensland, Government of  
 Queensland Mercantile Gazette, Pro-  
 prietors of  
 Queensland Post and Telegraph De-  
 partment  
 Queensland, Registrar-General of  
 Queensland, Royal Society of  
 Queensland, Proprietors of  
 Queenstown Free Press (Cape Colony),  
 Proprietors of  
 Quelch, J. J. (British Guiana)  
 Rae, Mrs. John  
 Redpath, Mrs. Peter  
 Reform Club  
 Religious Tract Society  
 Remington & Co., Messrs.  
 Renwick, Hon. Arthur, M.L.C. (Syd-  
 ney)  
 Review of Reviews, Proprietor of  
 Richards, Edward H.  
 R. Instituto Orientale (Naples)  
 Robins, Snell, & Gore, Messrs.  
 Robinson, Hon. Sir John, K.C.M.G.  
 Ross, Dr. A. M. (Toronto)  
 Ross, Dr. D. Palmer, C.M.G.  
 Roth, H. Ling  
 Royal Asiatic Society  
 Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)  
 Royal Engineers' Institute, Chatham  
 Royal Geographical Society  
 Royal Geographical Society of Aus-  
 tralasia (Queensland Branch)  
 Royal Geographical Society of Aus-  
 tralasia (Victorian Branch)  
 Royal Humane Society of Australasia  
 Royal Institution  
 Royal Scottish Geographical Society  
 Royal Society of Literature  
 Royal Statistical Society  
 Royal United Service Institution  
 Russell, H. C., C.M.G. (N.S. Wales)  
 Russell, John (Selangor)  
 St. Bartholomew's Hospital Journal,  
 Editor of  
 St. George's Chronicle (Grenada),  
 Proprietors of  
 St. Helena Guardian, Proprietors of  
 St. Lucia, Administrator of  
 St. Martin's-in-the-Fields Free Public  
 Library  
 St. Vincent, Administrator of  
 St. Vincent Botanical Station  
 Salvator, Archduke Ludwig  
 Sanderson, A. (New Zealand)  
 Sands, John (New South Wales)  
 Sands, R., & Franks, H., Messrs.  
 (Sydney)  
 Sands & McDougall, Messrs.  
 Sarawak, Government of  
 Scadding, Rev. Dr. Henry (Toronto)  
 Scottish Farmer, Proprietors of  
 Seeley & Co., Messrs.  
 Selangor, British Resident at  
 Self-Help Emigration Society  
 Sell, Henry  
 Selwyn, Dr. A. R. C., C.M.G. (Canada)  
 Seychelles, Government of  
 Sierra Leone, Government of  
 Sierra Leone Times, Proprietors of  
 Sierra Leone Weekly News, Proprie-  
 tors of  
 Sim, Thomas R. (Cape Colony)  
 Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, & Co.,  
 Messrs.  
 Singapore and Straits Directory,  
 Proprietors of  
 Singapore Chamber of Commerce  
 Singapore Free Press, Proprietors of  
 Skinner, Walter R.  
 Slade, Miss M. A.  
 Slater, Josiah (Cape Colony)  
 Smith, D. Warres (Hong Kong)  
 Smith, Elder, & Co., Messrs.  
 Smithsonian Institution, Washington,  
 U.S.A.  
 Società d'Esplorazione Commerciale  
 in Africa (Milan)  
 Society of Arts  
 South Africa, Proprietors of  
 South African Catholic Magazine,  
 Proprietors of  
 South African Educational News,  
 Proprietors of  
 South African Empire, Proprietors of  
 South African Medical Journal, Pro-  
 prietors of  
 South African Mining Journal, Pro-  
 prietors of  
 South African Review, Proprietors of

- South Australia, Agent-General for  
 South Australia, Government of  
 South Australia, Government Astronomer of  
 South Australia, Railway Commissioners of  
 South Australia, Royal Society of  
 South Australian Advertiser, Proprietors of  
 South Australian Register, Proprietors of  
 South Australian School of Mines  
 South Australian Zoological and Acclimatisation Society  
 Southland Times (New Zealand), Proprietors of  
 Spence, Miss C. H. (South Australia)  
 Squires, W. H. (South Australia)  
 Standard and Diggers' News (Transvaal), Proprietors of  
 Stanford, Edward  
 Star (Transvaal), Proprietors of  
 Stationery Office, London  
 Stevens, B. F.  
 Stevens & Sons, Messrs.  
 Stirling and Glasgow Public Library  
 Stock and Station Journal (N.S. Wales), Proprietors of  
 Stone, Messrs. J., Son, & Co. (New Zealand)  
 Stow, F. (Orange Free State)  
 Straits Settlements, Government of  
 Straits Times, Proprietors of  
 Surveyor, Proprietors of  
 Swansea Public Library  
 Sydney Bulletin, Proprietors of  
 Sydney Chamber of Commerce  
 Sydney Daily Telegraph, Proprietors of  
 Sydney Mail, Proprietors of  
 Sydney Morning Herald, Proprietors of  
 Sydney Trade Review, Proprietors of  
 Sydney University  
 Symons, G. J., F.R.S.  
 Table Talk (Melbourne), Proprietors of  
 Taranaki Herald, Proprietors of  
 Tasmania, Agent-General for  
 Tasmania, Attorney-General of  
 Tasmania, General Manager of Railways  
 Tasmania, Government of  
 Tasmania, Registrar-General of  
 Tasmanian Mail, Proprietors of  
 Tate Public Library (Streatham)  
 Taylor, J. B. (Transvaal)  
 Theosophical Publishing Co.  
 Timaru Herald, Proprietors of  
 Times of Central America (British Honduras), Proprietors of  
 Times of Cyprus, Proprietors of  
 Times of Natal, Proprietors of  
 Toronto Globe, Proprietors of  
 Toronto Mail, Proprietors of  
 Toronto University (Canada)  
 Transport, Proprietors of  
 Transvaal Advertiser, Proprietors of  
 Transvaal, Government of  
 Transvaal, The, Proprietors of  
 Trinidad Chamber of Commerce  
 Trinidad, Government of  
 Trinity University (Toronto)  
 Tropical Agriculturist (Ceylon), Proprietors of  
 Twining, Thomas  
 Tylston & Edwards, Messrs.  
 Tyneside Geographical Society  
 Umtali Advertiser (Mashonaland), Proprietors of  
 Union Coloniale Française (Paris)  
 United Service Gazette, Proprietors of  
 United Service Institution of N.S. Wales  
 United Service Institution of Victoria  
 United States, Department of State  
 Unwin, T. Fisher  
 Vickers, George  
 Victoria, Agent-General for  
 Victoria, Department of Agriculture  
 Victoria, Department of Mines  
 Victoria, Government of  
 Victoria Medical Board  
 Victoria Institute  
 Victoria Institute (Trinidad)  
 Victoria, Pharmacy Board of  
 Victoria Public Library, Museum, &c.  
 Victoria, Royal Society of  
 Victoria University (Toronto)  
 Victoria Weekly Colonist (British Columbia), Proprietors of  
 Victoria Weekly Times (British Columbia), Proprietors of  
 Victorian Express (Western Australia), Proprietors of  
 Vincent, J. E. M.  
 Voice (St. Lucia), Proprietors of  
 Wagga Wagga Express (New South Wales), Proprietors of  
 Wainwright, C. J.  
 Wairoa Bell (New Zealand), Proprietors of  
 Ward & Co., Messrs. Marcus  
 Ward, Lock, Bowden, & Co., Messrs.  
 Warne & Co., Messrs. F.

Watt, Thomas (British Guiana)	Western World (Manitoba), Pro-
Weekly Columbian (British Colum-	prietors of
bia), Proprietors of	West Indian, Proprietors of
Weekly Official Intelligence, Pro-	Whitcombe & Tombs, Ltd., Messrs.
prietors of	(Christchurch, N.Z.)
Weekly World (British Columbia),	White, Colonel W. (Canada)
Proprietors of	Whyham, Hon. W. H., M.L.C.
Weekly Sun (New Brunswick), Pro-	(Antigua)
prietors of	Wickham, H. A.
Wellington Harbour Board (New	Wicksteed, G. W. (Canada)
Zealand)	Wilkinson, Dr. J. F.
Wells Gardner, Darton, & Co., Messrs.	Wills, Cannell, & Rider Haggard,
Western Australia, Agent-General for	Messrs.
Western Australia, Government of	Wilson, Effingham
Western Australia, Registrar-General	Witwatersrand Chamber of Mines
of	Woodward, H. P. (Western Australia)
Western Mail (Western Australia),	Wynberg Times, Proprietors of
Proprietors of	Young, Sir Frederick, K.C.M.G.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY DURING THE YEAR 1894.

Mode of Acquisition	Volumes	Pamphlets &c.	Newspapers &c.	Maps	Miscellaneous
Donations .....	784	1,861	22,351	11	88
Purchase .....	198	327	10,242	—	—
Total.....	982	2,188	32,593	11	88

The Council are indebted to The Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, The Castle Mail Packet Company, and The Royal Mail Steam Packet Company for their assistance in the distribution of the "Proceedings" of the Institute in various parts of the world.

The CHAIRMAN: You have all had opportunity of considering the Annual Report of the Council, the adoption of which, together with the Honorary Treasurer's statement of accounts, I now rise to move. It is particularly gratifying to find, in days when we hear so much about bad times and depression of trade, that the prosperity of this Institute has in no way been impaired. The net result of the past year's operations shows a gain in the total number of Fellows, although our death-roll has been a heavy one, and we have to deplore the loss of tried and valued friends and supporters who cannot easily be replaced. I need only instance, by way of example, the Earl of Albemarle (one of the principal founders of this Institute and its

first President) and Mr. Peter Redpath who, for many years, worked earnestly as one of our colleagues. An increase in our annual income is an agreeable feature of the Report. Although increased facilities have been given to Fellows in the shape of lengthened hours of opening and additional meetings, the expenditure has been kept well under control. This question of finance engages the constant attention of the Finance Committee and the Council, who are fully alive to the fact that on economy of expenditure coupled with efficiency the future success of the Institute is mainly dependent. There are doubtless many subjects of Colonial interest that might with advantage be taken up did funds permit; but it would be a mistake to attempt more than our means justify, and we have always been careful to avoid even the appearance of duplicating the work initiated and successfully carried out by other societies and agencies. As regards the general policy of this Institute, I need hardly remind you that it has been without variation during the twenty-seven years of its existence. It was formed, as you know, to impress upon the Governments of the day and the British people generally the importance of the Colonies to the Mother Country, and for the diffusion of trustworthy information on Colonial subjects amongst our countrymen. There was at that time a party in the State whose leading idea appeared to be that the Colonies were an incumbrance rather than an element of strength and prosperity, and it was mainly to aid in combating that heresy that this Institute was called into being. Few now remember what ignorance and indifference prevailed, and what difficulties and discouragements we had to encounter, when we entered upon this arduous task. Happily the tide has turned, a revival has set in, and the country has fully awakened to a sense of its responsibilities and duties as a Mother of Nations. It is the British race and British interests that receive the first and foremost attention here, and all that contributes to the maintenance of the unity of the Empire is our constant concern. It is to this continuity of purpose, coupled with our central position and autonomous system of self-government as an independent and self-supporting organisation, that our success is, in my opinion, mainly due. Our fellow-countrymen in the Colonies recognise this, and are conscious that their best interests will be carefully watched whenever occasion arises. Let me quote as an instance the recent action of the Council when they made respectful representations to Her Majesty's Government on the subject of a very important measure, then engaging the attention of Parliament, with the result that the



Finance Bill was so modified as to preclude the imposition of double death duties on certain Colonial property, as was at first proposed : and the chorus of approval from the Colonial press and public, as regards the action thus initiated, was of itself amply sufficient to justify the existence of this Institute. As an information office also, it fulfils important functions, and it is becoming more and more widely known that no pains are spared here to assist inquirers in their investigations, while it is felt and appreciated that our motives are absolutely disinterested. Other nations have followed our lead in forming Colonial societies, and on this subject I need only remark that imitation is the sincerest flattery. Our "Proceedings" are in great request, so much so that it is found quite impossible to satisfy all applicants ; but copies are presented to the most important Home and Colonial libraries, where they are made available for public reference. Our Papers have a wide range, and their standard has been well maintained. I need only quote last week's meeting as a case in point, when an able contribution by a leading colonist was discussed by some of the most prominent authorities in this country on the subject of the critical position of British trade with the East. The recent issue, at considerable expense, of a new Library Catalogue has afforded means of better realising the value of the literary treasures that have come into our possession year by year, commencing with the smallest beginnings, until we now own one of the most complete Colonial libraries in existence. This catalogue will be found an invaluable aid to students of Colonial literature in every part of the British Empire. The Report alludes to the observance as a public holiday of the birthday of Her Majesty the Queen ; to the gracious acceptance by His Royal Highness the Duke of York of the position of a Vice-President ; to the Conference at Ottawa—one of the leading events of the year—at which the Earl of Jersey, another of our Vice-Presidents, so ably assisted ; to the lamented death of Sir John Thompson, Prime Minister of Canada ; to the teaching of Colonial subjects in schools ; to the extension to the Colonial forces of the long-service decoration ; and to the steady progress of South Africa since the termination of the Matabele war. In conclusion, I desire to add that the Council are truly grateful for the various suggestions they from time to time receive from Fellows both here and in the Colonies with a view to improving the efficiency and extending the usefulness of this Institute. Such suggestions always meet with most careful consideration, and the Council are only too glad to give them effect whenever it can be ascertained

that they are in harmony with the wishes of the majority of the Fellows, and are likely to prove of practical benefit. I now move the adoption of the Annual Reports and Accounts.

Sir AMBROSE SHEA, K.C.M.G. : I have great pleasure in seconding the adoption of the report, which I think all present must have received with the greatest satisfaction. This is the first time I have had the opportunity of attending any meeting of the Institute, but I have for many years been a very sympathetic observer of its proceedings. I listened with great pleasure to the elaborate and able statement of the Chairman explanatory of the objects of this Institute, and though that is, perhaps, a matter of bygone history, he showed in a very admirable and efficient manner the way in which its purposes have been fulfilled. I quite concur in his opinion that the Institute has had a great deal to do with the removal of the inhospitable ideas which prevailed in this country not many years ago as to the uselessness of Colonies of the British Empire. In that matter the Institute has been a very efficient and satisfactory worker, and we can congratulate the Institute in the fullest manner on the result that has been obtained. In the Colonies with which I am acquainted, we look upon the Institute as the means of communicating and receiving a great deal of valuable information upon all those subjects upon which it is most important the Colonies should be informed. We therefore regard it with much interest and with a great desire for its prosperity. The financial statement has been placed before you, and if we are to adopt the maxim that good finance means good government, and good government means good finance, the government of this Institute is in a most admirable position. In spite of the depression of trade, to which the Chairman has called attention, the Institute appears to hold its own, and I have no doubt that with the spirit that is abroad, the Institute will continue to receive the support that has been accorded to it in the past. Evidently the Institute has come to stay. It has taken its place as an established institution in the country and in the Empire, and it has done a great deal to foster those friendly relations which ought ever to prevail between the citizens of England and her Colonies, and upon which the greatness of the Empire so much depends.

Admiral F. A. MAXSE : There is one little matter that I should like to bring before the Fellows. It relates to the hour at which we are in the habit of holding our monthly meetings. The Council have had this matter under their notice, I understand, and have decided that eight o'clock is the hour most likely to be generally

approved for the reading of papers, and that hour has been the rule for a great number of years. I joined the Institute in the expectation of being able to hear the papers read, but as I find that hour inconvenient I told the Secretary I could not of course expect to impose my opinion on others, and that I must retire. The Secretary, however, suggested that I should rather wait for the annual meeting, and endeavour to elicit the opinion of others, and that is my excuse for troubling you in the matter. For my own part, I cannot make out what is the reason for selecting exactly the hour of dinner for the reading of papers. Of course, we are compelled to have political meetings at eight o'clock, because working men, very wisely, won't be disturbed during their meal hours, but I take it that among the upper and middle classes of London the invariable hour for dining is eight o'clock. If the reading of the papers began an hour before or an hour after eight o'clock I could understand it. Some societies have recognised the desirability of meeting at a different hour, and the London Institution, I believe, now meets at six with the general approval of the members. Papers are more or less attractive—sometimes not very attractive, but everything should be done to encourage members to come and listen to them, and I think that the anticipation of dining after a paper has been read and discussed would probably be more agreeable than having to make your speech or read your paper afterwards. It appears to me, therefore, from the common sense point of view, that considerations of ordinary convenience demand that almost any other hour than eight should be selected. We all know that after a certain age regularity of meals is almost essential to anything like regularity of life, and for this and other reasons I have stated I would urge a reconsideration of the hour of meeting.

Mr. H. G. SLADE : I am glad Admiral Maxse has brought this subject forward. I am a fairly regular attendant at the meetings, but not such a regular attendant at the dinners. The dinners are very pleasant, but there is always a bit of a scramble after to get a good seat. The recent plan of serving tea and coffee is a very good one, and I would suggest that the further experiment of having the paper at half-past five or six—possibly five—might well be worth trying.

Mr. W. S. SEBRIGHT GREEN : As a regular attendant at the meetings, I venture to take the opposite view. I really think that dinner before the meeting is infinitely preferable to dinner after the meeting. If the dinner were after, either the Chairman would have to insist on cutting the speeches short, or the diners would



often have to eat their dinner cold. I do not think that those who attend our meetings regularly and know the numbers that attend them—and that the large room is sometimes filled to overflowing—will say that the present hour is an inconvenient one; the usual good attendance, I think, proves the contrary. The dinner, no doubt, is rather early—six o'clock—but we do not come to these meetings for the purpose of the dinner, especially, but really for the purpose of enjoying the Paper. Moreover, a great many attend the meetings who don't attend the dinners, and are quite content with tea or coffee afterwards, to which we can introduce the ladies. If we could take the ladies to dinner there would, no doubt, be a much larger attendance at the dinners, but at present I do not see how we could have a better hour than eight o'clock. I do not think five or six a good hour. Everybody would be thinking of the dinner getting cold, and of getting the meeting over; and I do not think the Papers would be listened to so patiently. Further, we like to see the ladies at our meetings, and if we were to bring them at five, and have dinner at half-past eight or nine, what should we do with them?

Mr. FRED. DUTTON: There is another point that has escaped attention, and that is what is to be done by those Fellows—a considerable number—who do not intend to dine? Many ladies and gentlemen who have to go long distances would have to leave much before eight, or else they would have to postpone dinner to an unreasonable hour, and perhaps spoil both the dinner and the temper of their cooks. Personally, I am not absolutely attached to the eight o'clock meeting, and if there is any feeling in favour of a later hour, I am not sure that half-past eight might not be better. I am a constant diner myself, and I feel that we are just a little rushed at the end. The Royal Geographical Society holds its meetings at half-past eight with satisfactory results, I believe, and I have no doubt we might meet at that time and get the discussion over at a reasonable hour. But I have a very strong feeling against the proposal to hold the meeting before dinner.

Major ROPER PARKINGTON: I think myself that half-past eight o'clock would be much more convenient to those gentlemen who do not care to dine, and also to those who wish to bring ladies with them, because it is rather a rush for them to get dinner over in time to be here punctually at eight.

Sir JAMES YOUL: In regard to the half-past eight proposal, I would just remind you that many Fellows have to leave before ten o'clock—some by half-past nine—or else miss their trains, and they



would be greatly inconvenienced by not catching the train they are accustomed to travel by.

The CHAIRMAN : I think we are all obliged to Admiral Maxse for bringing this matter forward, and thus giving us an opportunity of discussing it. I would remind the Fellows of the reason for the institution of the dinners, which began upwards of twenty years ago. It was, that the Council were in the habit of meeting on the afternoon of the day for the monthly meeting, and the object was to save them the trouble of going home or elsewhere to dine. Subsequently it was found the dinners became very popular, and they were extended to the Fellows generally to the dimensions at which we now find them. If it could be shown that the dinners were scantily attended or that the meetings afterwards were so, there might be something in the point, but when I find that our dinners average from 40 or 50 up to 100 or more, and meetings are attended by as many as 400 or 500 people, I do not see there is a great deal in the argument that a change is called for. The dinners were always intended to be subordinate to the meetings, not the meetings to the dinners. The meetings have always been the principal object of our monthly gatherings. While I do not think any great change is expedient, I quite admit that the Council might consider whether the hour of meeting might not be at half-past eight instead of eight, giving, of course, due weight to the point raised by Sir James Youl. I am strongly opposed to the dinner succeeding instead of preceding the meeting.

Admiral MAXSE : That, of course, is a very insignificant incident. I was not thinking about the dinners. I thought that by a change of the hour of meeting more people would be able to attend and hear the Papers.

The CHAIRMAN : In reference to that I may inform Admiral Maxse that the Whitehall Rooms are sometimes filled to overflowing.

The motion for the adoption of the report and accounts was agreed to.

Mr. A. MACKENZIE MACKAY : I may observe that in this part of the room there is a very strong feeling that the Council would do well to consider the suggestion that the meetings should be at half-past instead of eight o'clock.

The CHAIRMAN : I can assure the meeting that the Council will take that suggestion into their earnest consideration at an early date.

Dr. C. INGLIS : I may remark that when there is an interesting paper for discussion people come at eight o'clock, and at a quarter past eight there is a difficulty in finding a place. Still, if we met at

half-past eight there would be half an hour more for dinner, and that hour, judging from the theatres and other institutions, is the favourite one.

Mr. L. W. THRUPP: I have great pleasure in moving: "That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Honorary Treasurer (Sir Montagu F. Ommanney, K.C.M.G.), the Honorary Corresponding Secretaries in the various Colonies, and the Honorary Auditors (Mr. J. R. Mosse and Mr. W. G. Devon Astle) for their services during the past year." Allusion has already been made to the success of this Institute, and that success is no doubt largely due to the admirable way in which those entrusted with various duties carry out those duties from year to year. Our Institute is a success—a thorough success, and has gone on from success to success. There have been no signs of falling off in any way, and it is most gratifying to meet here, year after year, and find things going on so well. I am quite sure that this is largely owing to the admirable way in which the gentlemen named in the resolution carry out their duties.

Major Roper Parkington seconded the resolution, which was passed.

The CHAIRMAN: Our Hon. Treasurer (Sir Montagu Ommanney) is, as I have already announced, unable to be with us, and our hon. auditors (Mr. Mosse and Mr. Devon Astle) are also absent. It therefore devolves upon me to thank you, which I do most heartily, for the resolution you have passed.

The Chairman reported on behalf of the scrutineers that the result of the ballot showed that the list recommended by the Council was adopted, and that the following were the President, Vice-Presidents, and Council for the ensuing year.

*President.*

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES, K.G., G.C.M.G., &c.

*Vice-Presidents.*

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF YORK, K.G.

H.R.H. PRINCE CHRISTIAN, K.G.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, K.G., K.T.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K.G.

THE MARQUIS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA,  
K.P., G.C.M.G., G.C.B.

THE MARQUIS OF LORNE, K.T.,  
G.C.M.G.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

THE EARL OF CRANBROOK, G.C.S.I.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN, K.P.

THE EARL OF JERSEY, G.C.M.G.

THE EARL OF ROSEBURY, K.G.

LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B.

LORD CARLINGFORD, K.P.

THE RIGHT HON. HUGH C. E. CHILDERS,  
F.R.S.

SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON, BART.

SIR HENRY BARKLY, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

SIR HENRY E. G. BULWER, G.C.M.G.

GENERAL SIR H. C. B. DAUBENEY,  
G.C.B.

SIR JAMES A. YOUL, K.C.M.G.

SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G.

*Councillors.*

F. H. DANGAR, Esq.  
 FREDERICK DUTTON, Esq.  
 LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR J. BEVAN EDWARDS,  
 K.C.M.G., C.B.  
 C. WASHINGTON EVES, Esq., C.M.G.  
 W. MAYNARD FARMER, Esq.  
 MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY GREEN,  
 K.C.S.I., C.B.  
 T. MORGAN HARVEY, Esq.  
 SIR ROBERT G. W. HERBERT, G.C.B.  
 SIR ARTHUR HODGSON, K.C.M.G.  
 R. J. JEFFRAY, Esq.  
 H. J. JOURDAIN, Esq., C.M.G.

WILLIAM KESWICK, Esq.  
 LIEUT.-GENERAL R. W. LOWRY, C.B.  
 NEVILLE LUBBOCK, Esq.  
 GEORGE S. MACKENZIE, Esq.  
 SIR CHARLES MILLS, K.C.M.G., C.B.  
 J. R. MOSSE, Esq.  
 GEORGE R. PARKIN, Esq., M.A.  
 SIR WESTBY B. PERCEVAL, K.C.M.G.  
 SIR SAUL SAMUEL, K.C.M.G., C.B.  
 SIR FRANCIS VILLENEUVE SMITH.  
 SIR CHARLES E. F. STIRLING, BART.  
 SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART., G.C.M.G.,  
 C.B.

*Honorary Treasurer.*

SIR MONTAGU F. OMMANNEY, K.C.M.G.

Lieut. General R. W. Lowry, C.B., proposed, and the Chairman seconded, a vote of thanks to the permanent staff, which was acknowledged by the Secretary.

Sir JOHN AKERMAN, K.C.M.G. : As a colonist of long residence, it has not been my privilege to attend very often the Annual Meetings of this Institute, with which I have been connected for about fifteen years. About fifteen years ago I had the privilege of speaking a few words, in another room, on the occasion of one of your evening lecture meetings. But I need no apology for rising to propose the following resolution :—

“That the thanks of the Fellows be accorded to the Council for their services to the Institute during the past year, and to the Chairman of this meeting for presiding.”

It is a resolution which cannot fail to be popular with every Fellow of the Institute present. I may say that I am no novice in the duties that devolve upon members of committees of various societies in carrying out the objects of those societies, and therefore I can most feelingly call upon you to pass this resolution. In carrying out so successfully in the past year as they have done the objects of the Institute, the Council and other officers must have devoted to its affairs a considerable amount of their valuable time and attention, for which they merit our grateful thanks.

Sir FIELDING CLARKE : In seconding this resolution I may say that I have not been able to attend very many meetings of the Institute, but when I have attended I have found the dinners most pleasant gatherings, and the meetings afterwards have always been

attractive. We all know that the papers and the discussions which follow are of the greatest service to the several Colonies to which they relate. The papers are instructive in themselves, and a cause of instruction from others. I am quite sure that the paper read at the last meeting on "British Trade in the East" was not only important in itself, but was highly beneficial on account of the discussion that was provoked. In the visits I have made to England I have always found, apart from the meetings, that this Institute was a most valuable one for anyone seeking information and instruction in regard to the Colonies, and that the Library is an exceedingly complete and useful one. I feel that a debt of deep gratitude is owing from the Fellows to the Council for their management of this excellent Institution.

The resolution was passed, and the CHAIRMAN returned thanks on behalf of the Council.



### SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING.

A SPECIAL General Meeting was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Thursday, February 28, 1895, when Sir William MacGregor, K.C.M.G., read a paper on "British New Guinea: Administration."

The Right Hon. Hugh C. E. Childers, F.R.S., a Vice-President of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 14 Fellows had been elected, viz., 7 Resident and 7 Non-resident.

#### Resident Fellows:—

*Thomas M. Barron, George Cording, William Austin Horn, Lieut.-Colonel E. G. Lloyd, John Stevenson Mitchell, Percy A. Molteno, Robert William Perks, M.P.*

#### Non-Resident Fellows:—

*H. E. Cargill (India), Colonel Mackenzie Churchill (Cape Colony), J. C. Jesser Coope (Mashonaland), Hon. William S. Fielding, M.E.C., M.P.P. (Premier of Nova Scotia), Claud Hope Knight, Dr. Lefevre (British Columbia), J. E. O'Connor, C.I.E. (Assistant Secretary to the Government of India).*

It was also announced that donations to the Library of books, maps, &c., had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN: It is my pleasing duty to introduce to you Sir William MacGregor, the Administrator—or what we should commonly call the Governor—of British New Guinea. We are very fortunate in having a man of such distinction to explain to us matters in which he has taken so prominent a part. For more than twenty years, Sir William MacGregor has had an intimate acquaintance with many of our Colonies and Dependencies, chiefly in the Far Seas—Fiji, Mauritius, the Seychelles, and what I cannot help calling the interesting island from which he now comes, and about which he will give us valuable information. Sir William MacGregor

is experienced not only in Colonial affairs. He is one of the most distinguished men of science of the day, and as such has been honoured by, I think, three Universities; in fact, I may mention that he comes to-day from Cambridge, where he has had conferred on him a high degree. In my humble opinion, that combination of scientific and administrative capacity is one of the most valuable that could be found in a governor. The well-grounded principles a scientific man must possess are always advantageous, but they are specially so in connection with the government of a great dependency; and when he has concluded his address, I feel sure we shall all feel we have gained permanent and valuable instruction. I now call upon Sir William MacGregor to read his paper on

#### BRITISH NEW GUINEA.—ADMINISTRATION.

It was under an arrangement entered into between the Imperial Government and the three Colonies of Victoria, New South Wales and Queensland that the Queen's sovereignty was declared over British New Guinea on September 4, 1888. A government was then established which is provided, under Letters Patent, Royal Instructions, etc., with the ordinary legislative and executive powers conferred on other Crown Colonies. The peculiarity of British New Guinea in this respect is, that the three Australian Colonies mentioned above contribute each £5,000 a year to meet the expenses of the administration; besides this they find half the cost of maintenance of the British New Guinea Government steamer "Merrie England," the Imperial Government providing the other moiety. As these Colonies pay the cost of administration they are allowed to have a weighty voice in controlling the public affairs of the Possession. This is spoken through the Government of Queensland, to the Governor of which Colony correspondence is addressed in the first instance, instead of being sent direct to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. This arrangement is founded on good reasons, that have equally regard to existing circumstances and to the political future of Australia. That which may be regarded as determinative of its political condition is the geographical position of British New Guinea. It is enough to say that the Southern coast of the Possession forms the Northern side of Torres Straits. If this one consideration is kept in view, it will be seen at once that it was the duty of Australian statesmen, acting in self-defence, to have at least that part of New Guinea added to the British Empire. The men who moved in this matter were foreseeing and patriotic. They had in view a united Australia, forming one of the great provinces of the

Empire, which should be free from the immediate presence of a foreign power in such a position that it might some day require in Australia the maintenance of a large standing army and costly fortifications. It was a test of patriotism and of foresight, inasmuch as there was no present advantage to be had for two at least of the Colonies concerned. If it was not the federal spirit, and sound patriotism, that moved Victoria to pay her share ; if it was not for the general future welfare of Australia that New South Wales undertook a similar burden—then it will be difficult to say what their motives were. They saw clearly that one of the greatest blessings bestowed on Australia is that nearly half the globe lies between it and the conscript nations of Europe. They saw how the gigantic armaments of even one nation could compel all others near it to adopt a similar policy ; and they had before their eyes the immunity of the United States of America from such cares. It was, therefore, as reasonable as it was wise and prudent that the statesmen of Australia should urge on the Imperial Government the annexation of British New Guinea to prevent the establishment of probably a fighting power there.

Queensland may reasonably have been supposed to see in the transaction more direct material interest, as she shares with the new possession a considerable extent of common boundary. It has sometimes been alleged that the Queenslanders wished to be able to transfer the natives of New Guinea to Queensland, and that this was the chief reason why that Colony urged annexation. No doubt there must have been men in Queensland who hoped they might be able to procure labourers in that way. But annexation was not the best way to obtain labourers from there, though it was the only thing that could meet the political views of the men who guided the country and looked to its future. It may be pointed out that, previous to annexation, the Queensland planters had labourers from that territory, and that, by the terms of the agreement entered into with the Imperial Government, they were deliberately debarred from recruiting labourers in the Possession for at least the ten years it lasts.

More than half a score of years ago the man best able to speak on this point, Sir Thomas McIlwraith, declared at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society that the desire for the annexation of British New Guinea did not spring from the wish to possess more land or to get natives to work on the sugar plantations of Queensland, as it was known that the natives of New Guinea were not fitted for that work ; but it arose simply for the purpose of preventing undesirable neighbours from coming near them. A week

before Sir Thomas McIlwraith made this statement, two recruiting vessels arrived in Queensland with 233 labourers from New Guinea. They were followed by others, so that by the end of November of the same year, 1884, some 625 of them had been landed in Queensland—a number large enough to demonstrate the unfitness ascribed to them by Sir Thomas McIlwraith. They were brought on eight separate voyages, and were employed for periods varying from twelve to two and a half months. These men were landed in Queensland from February to November, at such dates as would give a residence in the Colony of 479 labourers for about twelve months, with a mortality of about two hundred in the thousand; of course these men were of the flower of the male population. These figures are extracted from the Report of the Royal Commission subsequently appointed to report on the circumstances of the recruitment of these labourers.

This question of removing the natives of the Possession to Queensland is one that has been raised recently, and that has in several quarters caused some alarm. As it is of great importance, it is best to look it square in the face. There are, under existing circumstances, insuperable objections to it. The natives would not go voluntarily to Queensland, for, as the Royal Commission referred to above said, “the love of home of these islanders amounts to a passion”; and they could not, for moral and for physical reasons, be compelled to go. To take them against their will would be an outrage to which neither Queensland nor Australia would ever consent; the force that would be required to capture them and remove them does not exist, and it could not be supplied. If they were really taken to Queensland, then all hope of the future development of the Possession would be at an end. What planter would care to commence operations in British New Guinea if the available labour were removed to Queensland? It would be a deadly blow at the hope of teaching the natives to become useful producers on their own account. The labour traffic has played sad havoc with the population of the Solomon, New Hebrides, and neighbouring islands. It is greatly to be feared that the South Sea man is fast following the sturdy Carib of the West Indies, under the influence of those who are ready to hold up their hands in pious condemnation of the less enlightened, superstitious, and hypocritical Spaniards of Ferdinand and Isabella and their near successors.

The Pacific Islanders have not been decimated by forced labour in their own country, but unfair advantage has often been taken of their ignorance, and until only some fifteen or twenty years ago the



labour traffic was conducted in a one-sided, unwise, and shortsighted manner, which reduced the population greatly, more than need have been the case. This labour traffic, if combined with deportation of the natives, would undoubtedly in the long run, and in spite of every precaution, have similar results if applied to the population of British New Guinea. If the Colony were once depopulated, which it certainly would be to a large extent by the labour trade in one or two generations, whence is it to be re-peopled? The development of British New Guinea requires that its population remain and work in their own country, on their own soil, and in their own climate. This removal to Queensland would, if advantageous at all, be so only for a very short time, and for a few individuals in that Colony; on the other hand, the development of the Possession would be a permanent benefit to its natives, to the Colony of Queensland, and to Australia. Political foresight and considerations of humanity combine to show clearly that the natives of the Possession should not be removed elsewhere for any purpose in their present condition, and in the undeveloped state of their own country. In fact, there is no reason why they should be transported to Queensland or to any other place, for the Queensland or any other planter will be warmly welcomed in British New Guinea as a settler, and have full and perfect liberty to recruit labourers anywhere so long as he employs them in the Possession.

As many representations were recently made to the Ministers of Queensland on this matter, they were of course obliged to consider it, and had the Government of the Possession been of opinion that the experiment should be tried, as being in the first place desirable in the interests of the natives, the Queensland Government would doubtless have put proposals before the Secretary of State; but as the Government of the new Colony consider the removal of the natives as undesirable, as being politically unwise, and as being at the same time impracticable, it is not likely that the Government of Queensland will submit the question to the Imperial Government, without the consent of which the laws now regulating this subject and forbidding the removal of the natives could not be changed. With myself there is not any doubt whatever that Queensland and the sister Colonies will faithfully and loyally carry out their agreement in respect of the Possession. They have all been generous beyond the letter of their engagements—the two southern Colonies in the matter of money, and Queensland in that and in scores of other ways. In fact, no request for money or other aid has ever been refused to the administration,

So far, the sacrifice made by the contributing Colonies has practically been one solely for the benefit of the native race. In my humble opinion, the efforts made by them for the Papuan are conspicuous in the history of British colonisation. There may be some similar instance in that history where Colonial governments have at their own expense endeavoured honestly and honourably to deal fairly with an aboriginal race beyond their own borders, and to fit it into its place in the edifice of our national civilisation; but no similar instance is known to me. In dealing with New Guinea affairs, the dominant and first consideration of the Governments of Sir Thomas McIlwraith, of the Hon. D. B. Morehead, of Sir Samuel Griffith, and of the Hon. H. M. Nelson has been invariably the interests of the natives. On this point there is one person who can speak with positive knowledge of the subject: the person who now has the honour to address you. Sir Arthur Palmer, who has several times acted as Governor in Queensland, has always clearly and strongly supported the same policy with all his rich experience and conspicuous ability. These gentlemen have, in so acting, reflected also the wish of the southern Colonies. No single measure devised by the Possession Government for the well-being or for the improvement of the native race has ever been refused or even curtailed by these governments, who have one and all carefully held the Possession free from and above party considerations. Doubtless many mistakes have been made in the administration, but these certainly cannot be imputed to Australia, but must be assumed by the Administrator, whose views and work the Australian statesmen have invariably supported and seen carried out. Those Colonies are not content with simply securing themselves under the annexation of British New Guinea, but they are at considerable expense carrying on a great work in the Possession, the greatest work of the kind that has been undertaken by any of Her Majesty's Colonies single-handed, making in the cause of civilisation and humanity efforts that are creditable to the Empire, and most honourable to the Colonies directly concerned in finding the necessary means. It is right that this should be pointed out because many persons, perhaps not unnaturally, objected to these Colonies having any control over British New Guinea.

As the executive machinery of the Administration is more or less peculiar, it may be briefly pointed out what routine has been established. It rests on a system framed and elaborated by Lord Knutsford, as Secretary of State, on this side, and by Sir Samuel Griffith as Premier of Queensland, on the other side. The drafts

of laws and regulations, estimates of expenditure, requisitions for supplies, and official reports are sent to the Governor of Queensland, who in turn forwards them to the head of the Ministry of the Colony, who may submit papers to experts, to his colleagues, or to the other contributing Colonies, as the case may require. The Administrator is, in the exercise of legislative and administrative functions, to be guided by the instructions of the Governor of Queensland, and the Governor of Queensland is to consult his Executive Council on all British New Guinea matters. The views of the Cabinet, or Cabinets, are conveyed by the Governor to the Administrator, and the former transmits copies of the correspondence to the Secretary of State. This is the usual course; but the Administrator cannot, whatever guidance he may receive, proceed to pass laws affecting certain subjects without previously obtaining the assent of the Sovereign, such, for example, as laws for removing natives from the Possession or supplying them with arms and intoxicants. In case of emergency, or where he deems it necessary, the Administrator could of course address himself direct to the Secretary of State, but that is not likely to be often required, and it could not fail to cause delay in ordinary matters, and to break the continuity of correspondence. It will thus be seen that outside of New Guinea the person who can most influence the ordinary administration of the Possession is the Premier of Queensland. In actual practice the arrangement has worked remarkably well. The truth is that the premiers of Queensland have all been business men of large experience, who have long before they occupied that position learned to dispose of official work, and to trust the colleagues with whom they co-operate. Official matters concerning British New Guinea are disposed of in Queensland with a precision and despatch that would surprise many old-established offices. Sir Arthur Palmer and Mr. Morehead introduced the custom of early communicating important New Guinea despatches to the Press, a wise departure in this case from the more conventional official routine, for it has created a popular Australian interest in the affairs of the Possession, and it has turned to good account the experience that Australia is gaining in governing native races, for in that respect her destiny is not yet full.

From what has been already said it will be seen that great importance is to be attached to the idea of making the natives producers in their own country. It would be absurd to suppose that, even from the highest motives, these Colonies could go on paying £15,000 a year for all time for maintaining a paternal and philanthropic government in the Possession. The £15,000 represents the amount



available for the ordinary expenses of the Administration. Last year the revenue was in round numbers about £6,000, representing nearly two-fifths of the expenditure on establishments and services, exclusive of the cost of maintenance of the steamer. That this burden must be reduced until it disappears may be accepted as a truism. This leads us at once to the question of the future prospects of the Possession. The first question is, What can be done with the country by Europeans and by the natives?

It occupies in the south a latitude corresponding to that of Ceylon in the north. But British New Guinea is three and a half times as large as Ceylon, has mountains nearly twice as high, and has a greater variety of soil and climate than the older Colony. Generally, then, it may be said that any tropical product can be grown in the Possession. It seems to be specially well adapted for plantations of sugar-cane, tea, coffee, vanilla, cocoa, kola nut, cotton, sisal fibre, gutta percha, maize, tobacco, cinchona, spices of all kinds, and every form of tropical fruit. There are hundreds of varieties of sugar-cane native to the country. Perhaps every tribe that plants anything grows that article. Tobacco has been found on the greater part of the mainland, on Mount Knutsford in the Owen Stanley Range, inland on all the Gulf rivers, and near the meeting point of the Dutch, German, and British boundaries in the far interior. It does not exist on the north-east coast, nor was it known in the islands. It is therefore probably not originally indigenous, but it is clearly completely domesticated in the country, where it must have been used for generations. This tobacco is a small-leaf kind, and is said to be of very special value in the tobacco market. Cotton and rice are not native, but grow well there, and could doubtless be successfully planted. It is clear that tea and coffee grow well in the Colony.

For six months of the year, from May to November, there is a fresh south-east breeze; during the remainder of the year the wind is northerly, and most rain falls during that period, not as regular monsoon rains, but as frequent thunderstorms. In the daytime the temperature is generally from 80° to 85° Fahrenheit in the shade, and falls say five or six degrees during the night, but considerably more near the great mountain ranges. The Possession is not visited by hurricanes—a matter of extreme importance to the planter. The Colony has deep alluvial soil, volcanic soil, clay soils, light and heavy loam, limestone soil, sandy or other soils; it has flat, sloping, and steep lands. The greater part is covered by forest, but there are considerable areas of reed and grass lands. Certain districts have



only some thirty or forty inches of rainfall, some have eighty, others as much as up to 120. There is a considerable quantity of land fit for settlement to which there is good water-carriage by creeks and rivers, with convenient accommodation for shipping. The planter can obtain land by purchase from the Government, but he cannot buy from the native. The settler selects the land suitable for his purpose—land which is not occupied by natives; and the Crown, if it turns out that the land is available, becomes possessed of it as Crown Land, and then issues a Crown grant to the purchaser. The minimum price per acre, when sold with reasonable conditions of improvement, is 2s. 6d. The settler is at liberty to recruit native labourers in any part of the Possession. The Government is always prepared to give any facility it can in this matter, but cannot undertake to recruit for the employer.

The tariff of custom dues has been intentionally made a comparatively light one. The duty on tobacco, the principal article hitherto used in paying for native labour, is 1s. a pound; the duty on drapery and hardware is 10 per cent. *ad valorem*. The wages paid to the members of the Armed Constabulary, which will be a guide to the payments made in cash to labourers, are 10s. a month to first year's men, and 1l. a month afterwards. The settler would therefore find there, (1) Cheap and good land, (2) a supply of local labour, (3) exemption from hurricanes, and (4) a climate fairly healthy and agreeable.

There is, however, one thing that the Government cannot and will not do for the European planter: it cannot dispossess native tribes of their agricultural lands. But that is not necessary, as for the present there is more than enough for both races. But, side by side with the planter, it is hoped that the native will become a useful cultivator on his own account. Practically all the pearls, sandal-wood, trepang, and copra exported now are got and prepared by the natives. The way they are taking to washing out gold on their own account on Sudest shows that they are apt enough to learn from Europeans. The products that are suited for the operations of Europeans would be largely suitable for the native also. If he sees once how to grow tea, coffee, vanilla, rice, sugar-cane, ginger, tobacco, and such things, he will soon imitate others when he learns that he can sell his produce. At present the areas growing cocoa-nuts are small, but this industry can be extended by both natives and Europeans to very large dimensions on the great length of coast line—over 3,500 miles on the mainland and the islands together. The cocoa-nut is indigenous to the country, and

everywhere bears well. In this industry the Government has been leading the way, and has planted some 30,000 trees. The development to which this cultivation can be brought is of great importance. In the Rigo district alone the natives have lately planted about 60,000 nuts within a day's ride of the station. They are only now beginning to learn the value of this article, and to know that they can plant it with safety and profit. It will thus be seen that much may be expected from the soil of the Possession both from the operations of planters and from the natives themselves.

The fisheries are not so valuable as those of Queensland, but they will always, when developed, maintain a considerable number of people. There are many places that could be used for farming pearl-shell and sponges, and a law is being brought into operation to enable coast areas to be leased for those and similar purposes. The natural fishing grounds of the Possession in the west were put under the jurisdiction of Queensland before British New Guinea was a part of the Empire; but the Government of Queensland is generously prepared to remedy that to a reasonable extent.

Only a few months ago the existence of a great sandstone district on the Purari River became known. There specimens of coal were found, which on analysis seem to be of superior quality. Our knowledge of this extends only so far that we know that there is good coal in the district. The examination of the fossil remains forwarded to Mr. Robert L. Jack, Government geologist of Queensland, and to Mr. Etheridge, of the Australian Museum, Sydney, two excellent authorities on such a matter, justify good expectations from this source. But the district requires much greater examination: a work of time and of some difficulty.

There is good reason to believe that gold-bearing reefs exist in the Louisiades, if not also elsewhere. In the creeks on Tagula and Misima alluvial and creek mining has been carried on for half a dozen years, and recently reefs of some promise have been found on Tagula. There have been from two to three score of European diggers there all that time. They work hard themselves all day, and some of them have done well; but most of the creeks have now been washed, some of them more than once. The natives now find more gold on Tagula than the Europeans. As a small industry it will doubtlessly last there for many years, and it will be extended by the natives to the other eastern islands where gold has been found, as Rossel, Joannet, Duau, and Goodenough. Gold is found in the great majority of the rivers of the mainland, but it is not at all clear as yet where it comes from. The relations

that have existed between the diggers and the natives have been so peaceful and amicable that no anxiety need be entertained on this point should the number of diggers become greater than it is at present. Not a little uneasiness was naturally felt in official circles when the diggers went in a body to New Guinea in 1878. Up to the very last, when probably some of the men were short of provisions, they maintained friendly relations with the natives of the central district. They have proved themselves a law-abiding and loyal class in the Louisiades, and I am certain that, should the occasion ever require it, they would stand by the Government to a man. They grumble like true Britishers, but they treat the natives fairly. It is not from the diggers that trouble need be expected, but from those who come to hang about them and prey on them when there is a rush and much doing. No other precious metal than gold has so far been discovered, nor have any precious stones been found, but, in view of the geological formation met with, it will be very strange if these are not got before long. The presence of gold-diggers in the Possession has not so far as settlement is concerned proved of any considerable advantage up to the present, because the diggings have only been surface washings, and those engaged in that do not take up land or settle permanently in the country. It would probably be different if large and payable reefs could be discovered. The ground is extremely difficult for the prospector, and it will be generations before the country can be fully examined for the minerals that are probably there.

It is likely that a good deal could be done by commercial men in collecting and exporting such indigenous products as gutta-percha, ginger, sago, etc. There is good reason to believe that much of the first is obtainable; it, as well as the native ginger, is now being tried. There is room on the Gulf rivers, and on some of those on the north-east coast, for the manufacture of sago on a large scale.

There is a considerable quantity of sandal-wood in the central district, and perhaps elsewhere. This is being exported, but the market is somewhat unstable. Still it will remain one of the small industries of the country. In timber, New Guinea cannot compete with Australia until the easily accessible forests of that country have been used up, unless a market can be found for a few kinds that are more peculiar to the forests of the Possession.

Although the natural products of the country will maintain a considerable number of minor industries, the great resources of the future must be found in agriculture. It is not a pastoral country. Domestic animals thrive well, but the amount of pasture land

available is not great, and it is not likely to have a meat export. For this industry on a large scale it contains too much forest, too numerous a native population, and is too far from a market. But it should be able to supply itself with fresh meat, and to furnish its own horses.

Its coming prosperity will most probably rest on its exports of sugar, coffee, tea, tobacco, cotton, rice, sago, gutta-percha, copra, and the numerous smaller industries, agricultural and commercial.

At present the total of the white population probably does not exceed three hundred. A great accession of numbers and of capital is therefore required to bring about the development so much desired. It may confidently be asserted that the public men of Australia connected with the direction of affairs in British New Guinea will maintain the policy and measures best suited to reach this great end, a policy that is based on fair and just treatment to the native race, while furthering in every possible way the settlement of Europeans in a manner that will continue to avoid racial conflict and hatred. As practical business men they know well that this work is not without some difficulties; but a promising commencement has been made, and we all feel that the task is like that allegorical uphill work of which it was said :—

Questa montagna è tale,  
Che sempre al cominciar di sotto è grave  
E quanto uom più va su, e men fa male.

#### SANITARY.

One of the first questions generally asked concerning New Guinea is this: Is it a healthy country? The answer may be that for its latitude it is not unhealthy. All tropical climates must be more or less trying and exhausting to members of the white races, not yet accustomed to the vertical rays of the sun of the torrid zone, for it is still true what was said by the great German, "Aber die Sonne duldet kein Weisses." In all probability, however, the day will come when British New Guinea will be regarded as one of the healthiest of the tropical Colonies of the Empire. Sunstroke is so rare that, on the spot, one does not hear of it. This is probably to be accounted for chiefly by the fresh sea-breeze that is so common, by the cold air that descends in currents from the lofty mountains, and by the presence of vast and umbrageous forests.

Fortunately the negative quality is the most conspicuous one in respect of the majority of diseases best known to Europeans. It will be interesting even to the inquiring, thinking layman to learn that



certain maladies do not occur in the Colony; while their non-existence there is of great scientific importance to those who study the origin and distribution of disease.

Scarlet fever, which I have never met with in the high tropics, does not occur; nor do small-pox, chicken-pox, measles, or whooping cough. That most lethal disease, dysentery, is all but unknown. The deadly, multiform, contagious dysentery that has devastated the South Sea Islands and has produced at times such deplorable and ruinous mortality among the South Sea labourers in Fiji and Queensland, is quite unknown. There is very strong reason to believe that dysentery, or the worst forms of the diseases that are commonly called by that name, is a microbic malady, presenting different forms as caused by different organisms or by the same one in different phases of development. The man who will bring to the study of this terrible disease all the acquisitions of modern science will most probably become one of the greatest benefactors of the human race. This would be true more especially of the South Seas, of which dysentery has been and is still the scourge. Leprosy occurs sporadically. It is not usually of the worst tuberculous type, and but seldom produces mutilation. It is far from assuming the malignant and destructive characteristics it possesses in the Hawaiian and Seychelles Islands, for example. It is a good proof of the unusual mildness of type of this disease that, so far, no specific native name is known for it in any district. It is in all cases called by the word that signifies "sore" or "ulcer." It cannot be very contagious, as the natives have no particular fear of it, and have never killed or segregated lepers. No case is known of its having affected any foreigner. Beriberi does not seem to be met with. If it exists it is rare.

Of fevers it may be said at once that yellow fever and typhoid fever are unknown. The absence of the latter is of much interest, as numerous tribes live in conditions that one would think most favourable to its genesis could it originate *de novo*. It is almost certain that it was not native to Fiji or to the Pacific. It was introduced into Fiji in 1875, with a fatal result to the first patient, and the germs of it will now probably never become extinct there, but gradually be dispersed thence to many other islands. It is unfortunately securely domesticated in Australia.

The simple continued fever that runs a regular course and simulates typhoid fever for eight or ten days, though not uncommon in the Pacific, does not occur in New Guinea. The great bugaboo of British New Guinea is malarial fever. It is quite certain that this

malady is not infrequent. Fortunately in the great majority of instances it is of a mild character. Officers of the Government are provided with five-grain tabloids of quinine and antifebrine. When anyone, native or European, perceives the approach of fever he makes application for two or three tabloids, and in nine cases out of ten nothing more is heard of it. Domestic animals do not seem to be quite exempt from it. The natives themselves enjoy no immunity from it, but they very seldom die of it directly. It may be doubted that any person, white or coloured, in the employ of the Government has died of it alone, although it doubtless has rendered the system less able to resist other illnesses. Its access is extremely capricious. It is altogether impossible to say beforehand whether a given district will be a fever one or not. Twelve or twenty men have frequently been several weeks in low mangrove districts, sleeping in hammocks and on platforms over mud deposit, sometimes of evil odour, and the party has left the neighbourhood without a case of illness. At other times several men get fever in good weather, and on dry or hilly country. It is equally uncertain as regards the individual that it will single out. Certain persons, of whom it could not be predicted beforehand either by physique, age, or temperament, suffer severely; while others have only mild attacks, and many are entirely exempt from it, or nearly so. Predisposing causes are long exposure to the full glare of the sun, severe fatigue, cold produced by wet, but above all else a cold wind playing on the body, or even on a part of it, producing sudden cessation of transpiration from the skin.

It begins by a feeling of uneasiness, which increases towards oppression, as a sensation of chilliness makes itself apparent. This latter is seldom productive of shivering fits. The skin becomes dry, the head full and heavy, with throbbing temples; then the hands and feet become unnaturally warm, and the whole body is parched and becomes of abnormally high temperature, while the patient suffers from oppression and feels a painful desire for relief, which generally comes as soon as he perspires freely. The probability is that he will miss a couple of meals and be at work next day. He may have nothing more of it for days or weeks or months, for it does not often assume a regular periodic type. But it takes a firmer hold on a few, produces continued vomiting, prostration, delirium, and exhaustion. If it attacks an individual frequently in this way, it sometimes produces enlargement of the liver and spleen, with great debility. For this the best remedy is to leave the country, at least temporarily. The most troublesome

complication is, however, that occasionally the high fever and great destruction of tissue cause obstruction of the kidneys; but this yields to the ordinary treatment for such cases. It will be seen that there is thus nothing much to dread in the fever of New Guinea, if reasonable and intelligent care is exercised.

The majority of native deaths arise from pleurisy and pneumonia, generally at the change of seasons. The pneumonia would appear to occasionally assume an epidemic form. Europeans do not seem to suffer from this complaint.

It is probably owing to the little alternation of temperature that rheumatism is rare, but it is sometimes seen. Croup is unknown. Diphtheria has not yet been introduced into British New Guinea. It was unknown in Fiji until brought there about 1879 by the little daughter of a lady who arrived there from Sydney. Mother and daughter died of it. A case, the existence of which was known only to the medical officer, occurred immediately after in the person of a prisoner in Levuka gaol, but he recovered, and the disease for the time became extinct, and has not to my knowledge been distributed into the Pacific from that Colony.

No case of cancer has come under my notice in any native in the Colony; but lupus is common, frequently destroying the nose, cheeks and eyes of natives. Tuberculosis is rare, if it really occurs at all among the natives. Tapeworm is unknown. Elephantiasis is met with sporadically anywhere; but, as in the Pacific, it is most frequent on small islands, with mangrove swamp and little or no running water. The growths of this disease do not assume in New Guinea the large proportions common in Fiji and Samoa, nor is it nearly so common. It has not affected any European in New Guinea.

The skin diseases of the country are of special interest, because they are easiest to observe and are unfortunately too common. The most repulsive one, which is, however, in no way dangerous to life, is the form of ringworm called by Dr. Turner, late of Samoa, *Tinea desquamans*. This is one of the diseases that civilisation has been distributing with great rapidity. It was unknown in the group of Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji until labourers were brought from the Line and Solomon Islands to those places. It is said to exist in Formosa. Its track from that to the Line Islands may have been, or could be, traced by the medical officers of the navy. Fiji has been a prolific centre for its distribution. The Line islanders gave it to the native Fijians, and the Fijians had their revenge in giving the Line islanders yaws. But it was not civilisation that intro-



duced this pest into British New Guinea, though it will, it is to be feared, greatly facilitate its spread. It exists in the west, where probably it has found its way from some place further north or west; on the Fly it is known as Sukuba, and on the Bamu as Suku, the name applied to tobacco. Professor Giglioli has suggested that they may have been introduced together. It was very common in the villages 400 miles up that river. It was not seen at Biroe, the highest village on the Purari, nor among the great tribes of that delta. From the east end of the Possession it has got as far as Aroma. The most common eastern name for it is "Sipōm," probably from the Pannaieti word "pōm," to turn over. The central district is free from it, but is thus being attacked at each side, and the clean area is being gradually reduced, like *Althaea's* firebrand. It will doubtless cover the whole Colony eventually. British New Guinea possesses sufficient brimstone, sulphurous water, and solfatare to extinguish this disease, if these things could only be applied to it. Of this fact the natives are as yet ignorant, but it may be possible to teach it to, at least, some of them. The bath and clean clothes generally protect Europeans from it; but in Fiji they have often got spots of the disease, and this has several times happened in New Guinea also. Timely and persevering treatment stops it and cures it, but not always easily. If left unchecked it would cover the whole body in less than a couple of years.

Next comes the unpleasant disease of yaws. This malady appears to exist right across the Pacific. It has certainly been from time immemorial known to the Polynesians and their neighbours. It had not, however, reached the Line islanders until they got it from Fiji. The adult Line islanders contracted it when at work there. Where it is domesticated it is a disease of childhood. The Solomon islanders have also long had it. I cannot say whether it was ever known to the Maori, nor do I know its limits in the islands between New Guinea and Queensland. As it is a sort of national disease its distribution is of much interest. In British New Guinea, where its presence is universal, it has clearly a milder character than it has in the Pacific. Of course all natives get it once. So far no European has contracted the disease in New Guinea, but Fijian experience demonstrates that it might be communicated to them. The Fijian considers it a desirable necessity that his child should undergo this disease, and will send him to contract it from those affected; the Papuan attaches no importance to it. Itch was not a native disease, but recently a few natives were seen in the central district



suffering from it. The ordinary, but very troublesome, "scrub itch" lasts only till the acarus dies in the skin, which it does in a few days, without propagating there. The insect lives on grass, but prefers human blood to vegetable diet. The peculiar, erosive, apparently scrofulous ulcerations, so common among the natives of Fiji, called there "vidikoso," and more or less allied to lupus, are, though less frequent, not altogether rare in New Guinea. They are probably microbic, are easily cured, and, there as elsewhere, do not seem to implicate the lymphatic glands. Europeans do not get these ulcerations.

A peculiar disease is met with sporadically all over the country, in which small hard fibrous tumours, often as large as a plum, form generally over the parts of the body that would be in contact with the ground in sleeping. They are most common about the elbow and hip. They are probably originally parasitic, are not troublesome, and are easy to remove. In one case a European had one or two of these, and though a devotee to science, he would not be guided by my advice to defer an operation until his arrival in Europe, where the tumour could be properly examined. Another somewhat similar disease is met with in Europeans, in which small tumours form on the skin, probably caused by the ova of some insect. These tumours grow to about the size of a pea, are smooth, and with an omphalic depression on the top, through which a curdy-like deposit can be expressed. They are innocent, painless, and soon shrivel up and disappear.

Venereal diseases were quite unknown to the natives. A few cases have been introduced from Australia, and it will be difficult to prevent their spread. These maladies have been distributed broadcast in the Pacific, chiefly through the labour traffic of Fiji and Queensland. Some of these diseases assume a destructive and intractable type in South Sea races, and they probably would not be milder in New Guinea.

The four diseases that have been devastating the Pacific are first and before all others, dysentery; then hooping cough, measles, and venereal disease. Civilisation will introduce and distribute these in New Guinea; can it, or rather will it, control them? It has not done so, but it has not fairly tried to do so, in the majority of the Pacific Islands.

The natives do not practise medicine to any considerable extent. There are many charmers who clumsily profess to extract stones, sticks and rubbish from a sore head or a diseased organ. These are professionals and are paid for their labour. Efforts of different

kinds, by noise and incantation, are also made to drive away the spirit that causes sickness; or men lie in wait with bow and arrow to shoot it. If death takes place without the intervention of human agency, it is caused by the invisible arms of a spirit, whose shafts are fatal. It is probably this spiritual idea of pathology that has so narrowly confined the search of the Papuan for material medical remedies, and which has prevented his surgery from attaining the development it reached in Fiji.

The septum of the nose is pierced by a surgical operation, and sometimes large openings are made on each side of the ridge of the nose. The lips are never slit for ornaments. Holes are made all round the edge of the external ear, and the lobe is greatly distended, or drawn into long tags; great cicatrices are raised in ornamental form in many tribes, especially in the west coast men, whose skins are too dark to show tattooing, but these latter operations belong more to dress considerations.

Counter-irritation is cleverly applied by thrashing a stiff or sore back with a large nettle-leaf. A bad head is sometimes relieved by superficial incisions on the forehead, or it is ingeniously and deftly bled by a small toy bow to which a miniature arrow as large as a drawing pencil is attached, pointed with a fragment of sharp flint or obsidian, or a mother may suck the nose of a child when it has a cold in the head. Cases are met with in which large parallel cutaneous incisions have been made for arthritic rheumatism, which is uncommon, for elephantiasis of the legs, and even for snake bite. When the Rossel islanders are going to fight they eat ginger "to warm the stomach," and some tribes gave massoi bark to their dogs before a hunt, for a similar reason. Natives occasionally drink seawater for medicinal purposes. It would not be safe to say that they use other internal medicines. It is not clear whether they know and use any poisons. They employ ligatures occasionally, and frequently apply cataplasms of slightly astringent leaves to recent wounds or swollen glands. But ulcers are as a rule only covered by a leaf or left undressed. Although they are very suspicious of strangers, they do not hesitate to take the white man's remedies. Their favourite medicines are Epsom salts, quinine and bluestone, but many of them have come to know the beneficial results of speedily applying permanganate of potash to snake bite, and will hurry to a missionary or government officer to have this tried.

Snakes are numerous and often their bite is deadly, and in some districts deplorably so. Officers are instructed in dealing with recent

cases to pinch up between the finger and thumb, or with a forceps, a small bit of skin including the punctures, to cut this out sharply and to rub the crystals of permanganate of potash into the wound, and then to administer some ammonia or brandy. There has, so far, been reason to be satisfied with the results.

One of their most curious and interesting medical resorts is the way they remove the pain and pressure caused by the milk in the breasts of a woman who has lost a young child. To relieve the woman, perhaps also with some regard to domestic economy, for the Papuan is the most frugal of mankind, a small pig is put to the breast in the place of the child. A little time ago there were two or three women at one Government station who were being treated by this curious remedy.

A simple fracture of the leg I have seen them put up by laying a stick eighteen inches long over the fracture, and then passing a few turns of cane round the limb and the stick near the two ends of the latter. It would have greatly impeded circulation and might have produced mortification of the limb, but it was otherwise good in principle.

Gallants wear about their person in some places a heavy-smelling, small araceous plant, which is supposed to exercise on the softer sex an influence like that of Venus's girdle on the other. Other tribesmen trust to the odour of the glands of the cuscus for this purpose. But they frequently depart from material agents for this object and resort to incantation.

Perhaps their most effective remedy in sickness is massage. Once the Administrator was suddenly seized by high fever on the path between two villages about half a dozen miles apart, but separated by a swamp, which it was unadvisable to wade through in the feverish state. Swift messengers, sent spontaneously by the natives, speedily brought six women from the nearer village. They carried a mat on which they deposited the patient, and in half an hour they, aided by ten grains of quinine, squeezed the fever out of him. But it would be hard to say which was the greater relief, to be free from the burning fever, or to be delivered from the kneading of the dozen hard and wiry hands of these active and industrious manipulators.

To escape the troubles of maternity the women of some places prepare and drink a decoction of a common malvaceous plant, which they believe to be efficacious for this purpose. There is no reason to believe that they can procure abortion by any medicines. If ever done, it seems to be by violence only.

## LEGISLATION.

A brief *résumé* will suffice to show the course of legislation in British New Guinea. It is controlled both by the contributing Colonies and by the Imperial Government. The Legislative Council consists of four official and one unofficial member.

Immediately after annexation, laws were passed to prohibit the supplying of natives with firearms, ammunition, explosives, intoxicating liquor, and opium, and to prevent the deportation of natives. This was in accordance with the provisions of the Letters Patent. These laws have been rigidly carried out. In only extremely rare cases is any intoxicant illegally given to a native; occasionally a luckless digger when leaving the country sells his firearms for gold to natives, and this has to be watched, but the natives do not so far possess firearms. At the same time laws were passed to prevent the purchase of land from natives except by the Crown, and to establish Courts of Justice, and to adopt the laws of Queensland as far as they were then applicable.

The Central Court has, in its criminal jurisdiction, cognizance and jurisdiction over all crimes and offences against the law. In civil cases the Central Court has the like jurisdiction as the Supreme Court of Queensland. But an appeal lies in criminal cases from the Central Court to the Supreme Court of Queensland if the sentence exceeds three months' imprisonment; in civil cases, when the amount or value in dispute exceeds one hundred pounds. There is no trial by jury; in fact there are no means of providing jury-men.

The general Mining laws of Queensland were adopted in 1888, but with special provisions for the protection of the rights of natives, and also putting it in the power of the Government to give or to withhold rewards for the discovery of gold or of a new gold field.

Criminal Law Procedure was regulated by a law passed early in 1889. In ordinary practice a criminal case cannot be brought before the Central Court unless it has previously been investigated by a magistrate, and the accused has been committed for trial before the Central Court. No sentence of capital punishment can be carried out until the sentence of the court has been considered by the Executive Council, and a warrant for the execution has been issued by the Administrator, who alone has to bear the final responsibility of the decision.

The Laws for the Regulation of Prisons contain the ordinary provisions in force in other Colonies, with unimportant local modifications, all in the direction of less severity. A law was passed in



1889 to appoint a special Board to prepare simple regulations in any matter affecting natives. These regulations have to be approved by the Legislative Council, and are subject to disallowance by Her Majesty. They are in the simplest possible form, and are kept confined to a few subjects. For example, the whole regulation on theft occupies about ten lines of the Government Gazette.

The regulations that have been of most use, so far, are those dealing with the following subjects:—

1. *Theft*.—In the great majority of instances a Papuan will steal when he has the opportunity, from a European by preference, but from a native if he has no other victim convenient. This practice has been quite put down at many places where the regulation is in force. It has not been controlled by the Eighth Commandment, which there, as here, would be of small effect against petty theft without an executive of police and magistrates.

2. *The burial of the dead*.—In many districts the dead were interred in shallow graves under the house of the deceased, or immediately in front of it. The propinquity seemed to be prompted by affection. In other cases the corpse was kept exposed on a platform in the village or near it till it was found out who had caused the death. Naturally a regulation dealing with such a matter had to be cautiously brought into operation. It has been in practice wonderfully successful in the very worst districts. The natives themselves now appreciate the change. A village that now buries in the cemetery will taunt another village that breaks the regulation, that their houses smell.

3. *Lying reports and threats*.—This regulation has been very useful, especially in checking the more knowing natives, who visit others and extort property from them by using the name of the Government.

4. *Adultery*.—One of the most frequent causes of native murder was the homicide by the husband of his wife's paramour. Under the regulation dealing with adultery, parties committing adultery may be imprisoned, or a payment may be made to the husband. There can be no doubt that this regulation has already reduced the number of murder cases. It will be noticed that this is a departure from English law. Its principle is justified by the object in view, and by the success it has met with.

5. *Village constables*.—The regulation for the appointment of village constables is of very great importance. Its object is to create a force of rural policemen to deal with cases in their own villages, principally coming under the native regulations. It was

quite manifest that a force of armed constabulary could never be maintained sufficiently large to deal with such cases as petty theft in every village. A resident of the place can operate in such matters with better effect. Their cost to the Government will be about thirty-five shillings a man a year, consisting of two suits of uniform, and one pound in money. About four score of these are on duty already, and many of them have done excellent service. Not a few of them are men that were imprisoned for breaches of the law committed at a time when they did not know any better. Some of them have served in the constabulary. They are not provided with arms, and of course require to be watched closely and to be taught by magistrates, but they already form one of the most important institutions in the Colony.

6. *Sorcery*.—A regulation was necessary to control the practice of sorcery. The sorcerer in some cases raised blackmail, in other instances terrified people even to death, and often prompted crime. He would act on his own account independently, or for others if paid for it. The imprisonment of the sorcerer has a most beneficial effect in putting a stop to this. The natives in many places are anxious to get rid of the practice, and have voluntarily delivered to the Government the garbage used as a sort of fetish.

7. *Roads*.—A regulation giving the magistrate power to compel the natives to make and clear native roads was found very useful in two or three districts. The idea is to make natives keep the path clear through their own lands.

8. *Planting cocoa-nuts*.—One to enforce the planting of cocoa-nuts will, if judiciously worked, probably effect more economic good than any other. Intertribal quarrels, improvidence, the death of the owner, or the birth of a child to him, and the absence of inducement to plant, all helped to keep the cocoa-nut plantations small. It is of all cultivations the simplest and best known to the native; it gives a perennial crop, and always finds a market; it is indigenous to the country and thrives remarkably well everywhere. It is therefore the most suitable on which to bring pressure to bear on the native to push him in the direction of becoming a producer useful to himself and the country. The magistrate fixes, according to the circumstances of the individual and the village, the number of cocoa-nuts each man is to plant. It has already caused many thousands to be put in the ground that otherwise would not have been planted, although it came into force only early in 1894.

These regulations apply to natives only, and they are so simple, and the punishments that can be inflicted under them are so mild,

that officers who have not the experience required in a resident magistrate can be entrusted to carry them out.

In 1890 an Ordinance was passed to provide for an Armed Constabulary. I do not know that a government ever has existed, or has ever tried to exist, in any country without a physical force of some kind to give effect to the laws, if necessary. As neither the Imperial Government nor the Australian Colonies could supply any regular soldiers for the Possession, where, in fact, a soldier has never up to now been employed, a force of some kind was indispensable. The funds at disposal could only provide a native one, and that small in numbers. The constabulary consists of about sixty men. They are all Papuans, except three or four Solomon islanders lately enlisted, and these latter are certainly not the best men in the force. The constabulary contains men from many districts, from Mawatta to Yela Island. The majority of them remain only for a year or two. The constabulary and the prisons are two of the best educational establishments in the Possession. The constabulary and the majority of the prisoners learn a useful smattering of the Motu language, sometimes English, and they become acquainted with the ways of the Government and of Europeans; they learn to know the natives of other districts, and they take their knowledge with them to their own one. The constabulary of the Colony brings into contact in a common and national service the members of tribes often strange, frequently formerly hostile to each other. In this it acts like the mighty conscript armies of the great new nations of Germany and Italy. It is thus of great indirect value; and, so far, its labours as an executive force have been very successful. They as a body have established considerable prestige for themselves. In scores and scores of villages the young Papuan exercises his keen powers of imitation and mimicry by drilling after the manner of the constabulary. In many cases they have shown remarkable patience in refraining from retaliation under provocation, and they seldom or never have recourse unnecessarily to the Snider carbines with which they are armed. There is every reason to believe them to be quite trustworthy and loyal.

In the end of 1890 a law was passed to regulate the dealing with Crown lands. It provided a way for settling all claims to land on acquisition made prior to annexation. An appeal to the Secretary of State was left open to dissatisfied claimants. Nearly all claims, amounting in round numbers to about a hundred, have been disposed of without any appeal being lodged. Under this law

waste lands, that is land not already granted and not used or required by natives, can be registered as Crown land; and lands not occupied by natives can be purchased from them by the Crown as Crown land. Crown lands can then be sold to applicants, to whom a Crown grant is issued as his title. It need hardly be said that titles to lands are registered and dealt with on the general principle of the well-known Torrens Act, in force all over Australasia. The smallness of the staff in New Guinea made a few minor executive and clerical modifications necessary, but these in no way affect the usual well-established lines of this cheap and simple system. Crown lands may be sold or leased, by public or by private bargain. A minimum price of two shillings and sixpence an acre is imposed on land alienated for agricultural purposes. It may be stated at once that in disposing of Crown lands the object of the Government is not so much to obtain the price that may be paid, as to procure settlers. This has two important effects: it keeps the price a low one, and it prevents the alienation of large areas that would lie waste for speculative purposes.

The pearl-shell and Bêche-de-mer fisheries are regulated by law on the general lines of the Queensland statutes. The fishing waters of the Possession and Queensland adjoin, and it is convenient, as the same men often fish in both Colonies, to have the laws as far as possible the same. The chief difference is that fees are much lower in British New Guinea.

An important law is the enactment regulating the employment of native labourers. Their engagement is permitted all over the Possession. If engaged for a longer period than one month at a time, or if occupied at a greater distance than 25 miles from home, they enter into a contract before a magistrate. They cannot be taken outside the Colony unless in regular traders to the nearest Queensland ports, but may fish in the Straits in vessels located in the Possession.

Laws have been passed to regulate, and prevent waste in, the cutting of indigenous timber, such as sandal-wood for example; and to prevent the introduction of parasitic diseases affecting economic trees and plants. Legal means were also provided to prevent the introduction of rabies, a disease not yet known in Australasia. Through the trouble taken in this matter by Lord Knutsford and Lord Salisbury similar measures were adopted in the neighbouring Dutch, German, and French territories, so that there is reason to believe that, if long exemption does not render the Australian



authorities careless, this dreadful disease may be permanently kept out of that part of the world.

Restrictions similar to those in force in Queensland were adopted in respect of the introduction of domestic animals, with the view of keeping out disease. A law was also passed, before it should be too late, to protect wild birds. It is well known that the birds of New Guinea are unrivalled in beauty, and that they are eagerly sought after. Some of them are found only in the Possession, and even over a very small area of that. These latter can be saved from extinction by complete protection only. The other laws that have been passed hardly require specific notice.

The general tendency of legislation has been to follow, as closely as local requirements would admit, the corresponding laws of Queensland. This course has been deliberately adopted, and has the approval of the Secretary of State and of the contributing Colonies. It will therefore be adhered to. With a view to encourage settlers, taxation, as compared with that of other Colonies, has been made light; the settlement of land claims and the acquisition of land have been made as cheap and easy as was possible, and the restrictions on the employment of native labour are few and simple. The laws affecting natives recognise and preserve their rights; but while this has been done, sight has never been lost of the fact that they must be led or pushed into economic activity. The laws of the Possession are not framed with the object of keeping the native caged up in a reserve; but with the view of making him a useful and industrious peasant proprietor in his own country, with ownership in the soil, and with commercial rights equal to those of the European settler.

An interesting question of principle in legislation affecting natives had to be considered at the outset in British New Guinea: whether the great lines of the present criminal codes of Europe should be followed, under which punishment is applied solely to the individual and by the State, without any direct advantage to those who have suffered loss or damage by the crime committed; or whether the principles of the Salic code, and of later Frank or Saxon institutions, should be adopted, exacting punishment in payments from the individual or his friends, that should go in whole or in part to the person sustaining loss or injury. It may appear strange at first sight there should be anything to be said on behalf of any system not the ordinary one. But this had to be borne in mind, that the administration was weak, and our system was alien to the Papuan; whereas punishment by payment would

have been quite comprehensible to the native as being in conformity with usage established among them from time immemorial. To pay in property for having committed what we call criminal offence is perhaps one of the best recognised customs among Papuans. It could not always be accepted, but very frequently it was, and often prevented payment being taken in blood. Under the Protectorate exercised in New Guinea, and before the establishment of Government, such payments were sometimes encouraged after crime was committed, no doubt with the object of preventing retaliation. Sometimes it was all an officer could do then. It was thought, however, undesirable to revert to the antiquated system, even though it would have been for some time infinitely easier to work. The principle of such compensation is not in harmony with the spirit of modern legislation : it encouraged crime by making it cheap to the rich ; it was an incentive to the unprincipled and powerful to oppress the weaker and milder ; and it never could create the confidence in and respect for the Government that should exist, and that already does exist in the native mind. Sooner or later the ordinary system would have become indispensable, and it was decided to begin with it, although it was well known that for many years it would be extremely difficult to subject the individual to the ordinary procedure of criminal law. The result leaves no doubt that it was better to adopt the more difficult course. It is now clear that the Papuan, with his keen sense of justice and active intellect, can be made to understand our system ; he is learning fast that punishment must be applied by the Government, that it overtakes only the guilty individual, and that it cannot be compounded for by any payment.

#### THE TASK OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The sovereignty of the Queen was declared in the Possession without any participation on the part of the natives, beyond that of being mere onlookers. None of them understood its significance, none of them asked for it or assented to it. A few of them were told at certain places that they had got a new chief, and would receive fair treatment. But as they had little or no conception of the position of a chief, this information and promise could not carry much meaning to their minds. No native so-called chief understood what he might or should do, or had the power to do it, even if he did understand. The very name of government and authority was as incomprehensible to them as to multiply by three figures. As a rule, each community was an Ishmaelitic centre, either at war, or in armed

neutrality, against its neighbours. The only exceptions were at some of the stations of the London Missionary Society. The first thing to do was to endeavour to put a stop, at a few points to begin with—because the administration was so limited in men and money that to attempt to take the whole country in hand at once would have been absurd—to the constant intertribal hostilities, and to the daily commission of murder, more especially the murder of peaceable Europeans.

Visits of inspection were made as soon as possible to a number of places, but at most of them the natives were so wild that it was impossible to acquaint them with the name or functions of the Government or the Administrator. Soon an effort was made to bring to justice the native tribes that sacked the small vessel of a European, killed him, and cut down and dispersed his crew. Then happened the first hostile encounter between the Government and the natives. It ended in the execution of the four principals, but only after inflicting much hardship on the natives of the district. It was a beginning that had a wide influence. The danger was then that the natives as a race would become hostile; most fortunately the direction taken was submission. So it has remained after every case of collision. It was clear from the first that the most difficult of tasks would be to teach something like obedience to a people to whom such an idea was not only new but at first incomprehensible. This first case was the primal step in that direction.

A prison followed; and cases of crime were dealt with soon after in the central district near Port Moresby, creating a second centre round which authority slowly began to assert itself. A magistrate was then planted in the Louisiades, and by-and-bye others followed, until there are now four resident magistrates, two Government agents, who are also magistrates for native affairs, and two native magistrates. Then, as is the case with new tribes even now, communities would promise to be peaceful, and would be friendly to the Government, so long as they were allowed to do as they pleased; but they would not surrender a criminal, and the first arrest made in a place was always liable to lead to bloodshed. Until a criminal can be arrested without resistance, it cannot be said that the tribe is under control.

In the early days the Government possessed no organised force of any kind. I should be very ungrateful did I ever forget that at the time of the first collision with the natives, when the Possession had neither soldiers nor policemen, and when there was no ship of war there, Mr. Morehead, Premier of Queensland, sent a steamer to

our assistance. Fortunately the crisis was already past, but it was valuable aid even then. Natives could not then be engaged even as boatmen. Polynesians cost eight or ten pounds a month, so that one found oneself surrounded by utter disorder on all hands, and without the force that could set about subjecting it to quietness and respect for the law. Fortunately there were a few young men in the place who had been collecting specimens of natural history and trading, and these were extemporised as volunteers, and some of them have become valuable officers. After the Government had been in operation about two years the armed constabulary began to be formed round a nucleus of twelve Solomon islanders, recruited in Fiji under the kind supervision of Sir John Thurston. The four magistrates are provided with sailing vessels, and they and the Government Agents have police and prisons under their control. The ordinary departments of secretariat, customs, health, post-office, etc., have all been established, on a small scale, it is true, but sufficient as a commencement. A large part of the Colony has now by degrees been examined, including the whole of its coast line from boundary to boundary, and most of its great rivers have been inspected as far as a steam launch can penetrate, and the majority of them further. There remain, however, large tracts in the interior of the mainland that have not been reached. Authority has gradually been extended from the Government stations, and the different areas under control are beginning already to meet, so that before very long there will be no part of the whole coast line where the Queen's warrant cannot run, and where the individual cannot be punished for his own crime.

At first there was great difficulty about prisoners. They died with extraordinary rapidity, so that serious thoughts were entertained of giving up a prison system altogether, but this speedily disappeared, and the prisons became remarkably healthy. Among the hundred and more prisoners of last year there was a mortality of two, an old man from senility and the result of an old wound, and another by accident. There were on the average from two to four on the sick list. Under the management of the late Dennis Gleeson, in whose death the Government sustained a heavy loss, the prison system, with regular hours of work, regular meals, firm but kind treatment, mid-day lessons, mild punishments, and small rewards, became a most valuable school, in which the prisoner is raised and not lowered, and from which he almost invariably goes out a better and more useful man than he was before. He also leaves as a firm supporter of the Government. Through the care of the London Missionary



Society regular Divine service is performed at the chief prisons, at Port Moresby and Samarai.

Two years ago a number of the prisoners expressed a strong desire to show their advanced state of culture by assisting to capture some of the members of a powerful tribe that had attacked another, and set the Government at defiance; but the day before starting they requested Mr. Gleeson to let some of their number hide in the bush, that the others might be exercised in arresting them. This was done, and next day the prisoners triumphantly led in a couple of the men who were wanted for murders they had committed. Most of the prisoners who took part in that affair, like not a few others who have had a prison training, are now performing the duties of village constables in their own tribes. There is now a good prison in each district, and each magistrate and Government agent is provided with a sufficient force of Papuan constables, men who know all the ways of their countrymen, and on whom we can so well depend that there need be no hesitation in saying that the lives and property of Europeans would be perfectly safe wherever they could settle. The prison detention, although it sends out many useful men, is not always regarded as a creditable experience. The constabulary do not like to have their food near the prisoners, and free labourers are not willing to work near them at swamp reclamation. A man will hang his head for months after a few days' imprisonment for fraud. Certain villagers boast that their behaviour is so good that none of them have been in prison. The natives over large districts have already come to know perfectly well that good men are not sent to prison, a lesson that can be taught to a barbarous people only by experience. The district establishments are so far organised now that a large quantity of native food is grown there, and the planting of cocoa-nuts and economic products is being actively pushed at all the stations.

A force of about a score of the armed constabulary is not attached to any station, but can be moved about as occasion may require. The constables are practically all Papuans, and show some good qualities as policemen. The non-commissioned officers are all natives of the country. Naturally, it is no easy task to reduce these raw elements to any sort of discipline and training. Their work is chiefly in the bush, in surrounding villages, in crossing country on foot or by boat, and for this much strict drill is not necessary. As to the loyalty of the force to the Government there is no doubt. They all understand perfectly that they are never to use their arms except in the last extremity, indeed, by too much forbearance they have sometimes

been put in great danger. It would, however, be utter folly to allow them to operate in any matter of importance without the presence of a European; and even to the latter instructions are always to postpone any serious encounter until the Administrator can be present and take the responsibility on himself. There have been some six or eight deliberate fully planned pitched battles with new or recalcitrant tribes, besides many smaller frays. In all of these the Government has so far had extraordinary good fortune. Indeed, if any person will glance over the second volume of D'Alberty's "New Guinea," it cannot but appear almost a marvel of good luck that a Government party went from the mouth of the Fly to the German boundary without firing a shot at a native. A favourite Government measure is to enlist a few young men into the constabulary from a new or hostile tribe. After a great deal of trouble the powerful Aroma tribe was subjected a year and a half ago by moral pressure alone; six of them were at once enrolled as village policemen, and have performed good service since. After the humbling of Wabuda in the Fly estuary, some of its young men were at once enlisted in the constabulary; the same was done at Maipua and at Havida. These are hostages; they receive training and will go back to their own tribe as village police. In this way the process of establishing peace and making the natives acquainted with the law and the authority of the Government goes on slowly, but surely. In many great districts arms are now laid aside, and food is planted in greater abundance than has ever been done before—in some places because it is no longer stolen, in others because it can now be done safely. Much time is taken up at present by the different tribes in giving feasts of reconciliation, one result of which is that the native drum and dance are heard more often, and at later hours than the teachers like, but it is not easy to interfere with this by regulation. The natives collect sandal-wood, fish, trepang and shell, collect gum, procure pearls, wash gold, make copra, sail the boats of traders, and engage in similar occupations, but only on a small scale as yet; but in all these things a good commencement has been made. They are in the great majority of instances well and fairly treated. If a European is not able to pay promptly, a native will go on in his service if told that he will be paid by-and-bye. They begin to ask to be paid in cash. They like to hide it away, and to have it to use when they really need it. At a Fijian feast the hosts were never satisfied unless a ton or a few tons of food were thrown into the river or sea; a Papuan would not hesitate a moment to call the Fijian a fool for so doing. Such an act

would be utterly foreign to the ideas and habits of the Papuan. Not more than a score of Papuans have made a present to the Administrator. They will certainly hoard up money when they begin to collect it, and they are commencing that already. In gaining the confidence and respect of the natives, the Government has been more successful than could ever have been expected. They begin to think at many places that whatever is ordered or required by the Government is right. They fear the Government greatly. Over large areas the natives no longer resist arrest, but promptly secure their own criminals, and deliver them up to the Government officers, often taking them long distances. Sometimes the only defence or palliation set up by an accused is that he did not resist when arrested. It is well that this consideration should have weight. They sometimes ask the Administrator to remember that their case is the first one from the district, and they often naïvely say they did not before know the power of the Government, but in future all will fear it. The principal difficulty now arises from the descent of inland, unknown natives on the settled tribes nearer the coast. Many journeys will have to be made inland from the coast at different points to reach and settle these mountaineers. This has been done at several places, but it is a work that will last for several years yet.

For the Europeans in the Colony the Government is doing what it can. First of all, it is gradually making the country safe for him, and reducing the natives to a condition under which he can employ them anywhere. It has tried to the best of its ability to provide him with information, to furnish him with maps and vocabularies of the native language, and it has opened up communications with hundreds of new tribes that may now be safely approached by the trader. But there has been reciprocity. The Europeans in that remote and secluded region have supported the Government of the Queen with a loyalty and steadiness that are most exemplary and praiseworthy. They have in the most intelligent manner recognised the necessity of the exceptional laws required by our peculiar circumstances, and they have been observed so well, that violations of them have been remarkably rare. There is hardly a white man in British New Guinea who does not act on the principle of keeping his word to a native. The Government has treated the Europeans as honest men, and has seldom been disappointed.

A subsidised mail service is carried on, which calls at specified places every two months, providing communication with Queensland ports. Thus traders and settlers can communicate with Australia and the outside world from the greater part of the Colony.

The different magistrates and officers are prepared to give any information and assistance in their power to people in search of land, or visiting the country with a view to taking up any special industry.

The Government does not itself engage in any trading operations, but it has made large plantations of cocoa-nut trees, which it is hoped will, before long, reduce expenditure, and yield something towards revenue. It has introduced a great many plants of industrial and economic value for the different stations. It has constantly utilised prison labour for making roads, building jetties, and in reclaiming some dozen acres of swamp on Samarai Island, and for other public purposes. The prison labour will be now used for making a few roads from the coast inland, in extending the Government plantations, and in building foreshore walls at Port Moresby. The Government does not often employ native labour as free hands : but it is most desirous of seeing the natives employed in agricultural work in their own country, though averse to seeing them removed to Australia. It would therefore welcome those who would open up plantations of sugar-cane, tea, coffee, or other suitable articles.

All that is possible is done to assist the work of the missionary, as well as that of the trader and settler. Missions receive grants of land for religious purposes at the original price paid by the Government. The administration does not seek to compel people to go to church, but with myself there is no hesitation in telling natives that mission work is approved of, and that, other things being equal, a preference will be given to a native that is a Churchman. It is hardly necessary that it be said that to the administration all missions are alike ; in fact, there is no such thing as sectarianism in the Colony. Our four mission bodies treat each other with more than toleration, it may be said with the feelings of fellow-workers under the same great Master who gave them the charity of the New Testament as a guide. The missionaries of all four bodies are men of such stamp and character that they can mutually respect each other, and they are looked up to by the Government officers and natives alike. They are invaluable aids in establishing peace in a country of chaotic barbarism, both by teaching and by the example of regular, honourable, and moral lives ; and by the practice of self-denial to an extent that is unknown to any other class of men. My greatest desire at present is to see their numbers greatly increased, that the virgin soil there offered to them may be cultivated as soon as possible. It is or would be a great advantage to each and all of them to have a few lay brothers and sisters attached to them. The latter, more especially in the capacity of trained nurses, would be of great use to the mission



members and to natives. His Eminence Cardinal Ledochowsky, the distinguished head of the college *de propagandâ fide*, has promised me that this matter shall receive immediate attention, as far as regards the Sacred Heart Mission; the enterprising and provident Wesleyans have already made a practical start and led the way in this direction: the London Missionary Society, and the Anglican Mission will, I hope, follow. Lay brothers are of great use in building mission stations, in bringing a mission homestead under cultivation, in keeping up communication between the stations, and in teaching new industries to the natives. I respectfully disapprove of mission stations without sufficient land to grow native food for its occupants, both on the ground of unnecessary expense, and on the still more important considerations that native students and teachers should not be allowed to lapse into idle, slothful habits of indolence; that they should not learn to despise labour, and should not become accustomed to prefer imported food, and to dislike or despise their own. The Sacred Heart Mission has a number of lay brothers; the Wesleyans already have one or two, and I believe the Anglican Mission has one; all are extremely useful, and their number could very advantageously be increased. The London Missionary Society has none. The other day a new Italian Mission was sent to the Colonia Eritrea of Italy. The head of that mission has, on arrival at his destination, deliberately given out as one of the main objects of his mission, the teaching of the language of the Mother Country to the natives. That course is wise and patriotic, and I hope to see it imitated in British New Guinea. To some extent English is taught by our missions, but far less than is desirable. It is a mistake to send to the Colony South Sea teachers who do not know at least a little English. In the first place, they cannot for some time communicate with Europeans, and in the second place, they cannot teach what they do not know. An English-speaking teacher is of much more value than one who does not know that tongue. It would be a great boon were this remembered and acted on.

In the early part of this Paper it has been shown that in the first instance the success that has so far attended the administration has been based on the warm, steady, and consistent support and encouragement of the Government of Queensland, and the two other contributing Colonies.

Even with that support success could not have been possible without the cordial co-operation of those officers of the Possession who have been the hands of the administration. The sympathy and

relationship that have subsisted between the head of the administration and its other officers, have been as intimate and close as should be the union between the head of a body and its members. The senior officers, Mr. Winter, Mr. Musgrave, and Mr. Hely, have obtained an invaluable experience that will fit them for higher posts.

By the death of the late Mr. Frank Lawes, since I left New Guinea, the service has lost a most valuable, loyal, intelligent, and highly qualified officer, possessed of much special knowledge of the country and people.

In him the Administrator has lost an intimate friend and a faithful follower; and the natives have lost one who knew them and sympathised with them, one who can hardly ever be replaced.

#### DISCUSSION.

The Rev. JAMES CHALMERS: It is, I think, a matter of satisfaction to find that we, as Britishers, are taking a greater interest in native races than ever we have done before, that we are attempting to begin well, instead of proceeding on lines which we afterwards find to be all wrong. There can be no doubt that since the inauguration of British government in New Guinea a great work has been done there, but we New Guineans think that had the Colonial Office searched the whole Empire through a better Administrator than Sir William MacGregor could not possibly have been found. I would like to say here that as soon as the news arrives at New Guinea that Cambridge has honoured herself by honouring Sir W. MacGregor, great joy will be felt. I have been for nearly eighteen years connected with New Guinea, and trust I shall be able to end my days there. I am delighted to know that our excellent Administrator is returning for another term of office, for I know of nothing that will give greater pleasure to the Europeans in New Guinea, and, I may add, to the natives also, to whom Sir W. MacGregor, whomsoever else you may send, will ever be known not simply as a Governor, but as *the* Governor. Of course, the annexation of New Guinea was a necessity, although we only got the south-eastern part of the island. In the north of Australia you have got no harbours to speak of, whereas we have splendid harbours, and had these fallen into the hands of foreign powers, all they had to do was to fortify two or three of them, convert them into coaling stations, and in thirty-six hours their ships could have descended on the Australian coast. In reference to the labour question, I am delighted, of course, with the position Sir W. MacGregor has taken up. I thoroughly believe that as a whole our

New Guineans are against leaving their homes. If, as is suggested, capitalists should come from Australia or Great Britain, I doubt whether they would be able to get labour from afar, whether, if they went over on the Fly River, for instance, they would find Port Moresby natives willing to go and work there. Indeed, amongst all the natives amongst whom I have travelled, I have never found any so much attached to their children, or the children to their parents. It is quite a sight to see the parting with the children when a man leaves home for a day or two, and also to see the children on the beach on his return. They discuss among themselves, when the canoes are still at a distance, which is their particular canoe, and when the father lands, the children rush to meet him. Probably the mother comes down with a child in her arms; there is nothing said; she simply puts the infant in the father's arms, and the other children gather round. It is a pure home life. You remember how in "The Cottar's Saturday Night" the children look out for the returning father. That you will see again and again in New Guinea. It would, I think, be a grand mistake to attempt to remove the New Guineans to Queensland to work on the sugar plantations, and, moreover, if Sir W. MacGregor's suggestion is accepted, and capitalists go to New Guinea to start sugar plantations, I want to know where you will find the labour if you have removed the men from New Guinea? Further, the natives will yet be able to grow sufficient cocoa-nuts to produce a large quantity of copra, and they will also be able to grow coffee. It may be said that is too advanced for them, but that is not my experience. I lived for ten years in an island of the South Pacific—now a British Possession—that turns out £100,000 worth of coffee every year, and this is entirely in the hands of the natives. All the coffee goes at present to Auckland, and Tahiti, the French colony, but it is hoped it will all be taken eventually to New Zealand. If the natives of New Guinea can be got to grow coffee or even the sugar-cane great advantage would, I think, result. I sincerely trust that the exportation of the natives will never be attempted. The experience we have had in the past is not at all favourable, but, remember, I bring no accusation against Queensland. My experience in reference to the Queensland planters is that they have killed the natives by over-kindness. Suppose you take 200 or 300 men from New Guinea—men not accustomed to animal food. According to the law of Queensland, on so many days of the week they have to be served with animal food, and perhaps in many cases salt beef. In a short time two-thirds of the men are down with sickness, and the majority

of them never sufficiently recover to be able to do much work. It is over-kindness on the part of the Government to see that they are well fed. I certainly bring no accusation against the Queensland Government in respect to the treatment of the natives on their side. All I contend for is that they should be allowed to remain at home to supply the labour that may be required, and also, perhaps, to produce on their own account. I thank Sir W. MacGregor for his advice to us as missionaries, and I am sure the Directors of the London Missionary Society will listen to what he has said in reference to lay labour. I feel myself that we should introduce that kind of work, and make the Society self-supporting on a large island like New Guinea.

The Right Hon. Lord KNUTSFORD, G.C.M.G : If there be any truth in the old saying that "he who drives fat oxen should himself be fat," I ought not to be called upon to speak on this occasion, inasmuch as I have never been to New Guinea, nor can I add anything to the extremely able address we have heard to-night. At the same time, I have this reason for speaking—that if any outsider has been interested in New Guinea I have, and for three very good reasons. In the first place, I had the great privilege of presiding at the Colonial Conference held in the Jubilee year, 1887, when all the eminent statesmen of the responsibly-governed Colonies came here and gave us their loyal assistance ; and at that Conference arrangements were made by which the three Colonies of Queensland, Victoria, and New South Wales agreed to subscribe a certain sum for ten years if New Guinea were annexed and made part of the Empire. It is certainly satisfactory to learn from Sir William MacGregor—though I happen to know it also of myself—that these Colonies have most loyally fulfilled the arrangement into which they entered ; indeed, they have done more than they were bound to. I am glad to find, too, that the arrangements—arrangements of some complexity—between the Administrator and the Queensland Government and the Crown have worked well. It was, in the second place, my pleasing duty to advise Her Majesty to declare her sovereignty over British New Guinea, and to annex that territory to the Empire. I suppose that when a baby is to be christened everybody has experienced the difficulty of settling its name. For many weeks I was overwhelmed with names for this new baby, but I am glad that Her Majesty was graciously pleased to adopt my suggestion, and, acting upon a precedent already established in the cases of British Guiana and British Honduras, call this territory British New Guinea. The next thing was to



appoint a tutor or governor or nurse for the baby, and it was my pleasing duty to advise Her Majesty to appoint Sir William MacGregor, then Mr. MacGregor. If any step has ever been justified by the result, I think that step has been justified most abundantly. Pray consider the difficulties he had to face. Large tracts of land were not known at all. Those that had been traversed were very little known. Anyone who will read the accounts of expeditions made before Sir W. MacGregor assumed the Government will see that for one reason or another—either because the natives did not choose to go on, or because the explorers fell ill, or on account of the rains and storms—these expeditions were nearly all failures. Then there were all these different tribes of natives—no law, no chiefs on whom to rely—all raiding upon each other and carrying on a kind of internecine war. So much for the past. We have heard to-night what is the present state of things, and it is gratifying to me, as indeed it must be to all present, to be able publicly to acknowledge the great debt this country owes to Sir W. MacGregor for his loyal, zealous work, and for the ability he has shown in consolidating this part of Her Majesty's Empire. I do not find any remarks about the Administrator's work in this address, except that he says some mistakes must have been made, and for these, loyal man that he is, he is ready to take the responsibility; but we who have watched his administration know full well what splendid work he has done. I am afraid the many letters I wrote to him privately from time to time are now burnt, or were consigned to the British New Guinea waste-paper basket; but Sir W. MacGregor will remember that I was constantly reminding him that it was not the duty of a general to be always under fire, and begging him to abstain from undertaking expeditions which at that time were certainly perilous to health, and perhaps to life. I begged him to abstain from undertaking them unless they were necessary. I do not wish to underrate the immense importance of the expeditions Sir W. MacGregor undertook. He was brought face to face with the natives, who, by discussion, and by hearing what he had to say, gradually began to learn the advantages of our Government, and that our sole object was to promote their welfare and interest. I concur heartily in the mention he has made of the officers under him, and on whose work he could so much rely: Mr. Winter, Mr. Musgrave, Mr. Hely, and Mr. Lawes, the death of whom (Mr. Lawes) is so greatly to be lamented for the sake of the Colony. I would like also to bear my acknowledgment of the great assistance rendered by the different

Premiers and executive Governments of Queensland. As I have said, the arrangement was somewhat complicated, and, had they chosen to make difficulties, we should have had great trouble in settling matters. We ought, therefore, to acknowledge the debt of gratitude we owe to Sir Thomas McIlwraith, Sir Samuel Griffiths, Mr. Morehead, Mr. Nelson, and Sir A. Palmer, and there is one other name I would add to the list—that of Sir Henry Norman, Governor of Queensland. If I have had one letter from him I have had twenty, acknowledging in the highest terms the work of Sir W. MacGregor, and speaking of his personal interest in the prosperity of the new possession. I have only to add one unimportant, and one important remark on the address. The unimportant one is that, being a smoker myself, I am glad to hear that tobacco is grown on Mount Knutsford. The important observation is that, after careful consideration of the case, I can heartily concur with Sir W. MacGregor and the last speaker, that it is most desirable that the prohibition of recruiting natives for Queensland should be carefully maintained. If the Colony is to be developed, we must leave the natives to develop it themselves, and that being so, I heartily rejoice to find that Sir W. MacGregor feels so strongly upon the question, as it ensures that no change will be made in the present system.

Rear-Admiral W. J. WHARTON (Hydrographer to the Royal Navy): I have not been to New Guinea, but I am glad to be able to make a few remarks. I attended Sir W. MacGregor's lecture at the Geographical Society the other night, in which he gave a most interesting geographical account of the island and of his expeditions, and I came away with the impression, which has been very much strengthened by what I have heard to-night, that his work has been of a most extraordinary character. There is a modest little paragraph in the paper to this effect: "A large part of the Colony has now by degrees been examined, including the whole of its coast-line from boundary to boundary, and most of its great rivers have been inspected as far as a steam launch can penetrate, and the majority of them further." I do not know whether everybody realises what that means. An intricate coast-line of between 3,000 and 4,000 miles explored from end to end. Think what that means. I know myself he has done it, because he has been continually sending to me most valuable additions to our charts, and we sailors are very much indebted to him for that work. It is perfectly astounding to me the amount of the work he has done, in addition to the administrative work he has carried on so successfully. When we think of this, we as Englishmen must be very proud of Sir William Mac-

Gregor. This work of laying firm the foundations of one of H.M.'s new large possessions has not made a great stir in the world, but we know the work is being done on the right lines—the lines of non-interference with the natives, and taking care they are not corrupted by the introduction of spirits or fire-arms, and I am sure we must all congratulate Sir W. MacGregor upon it.

Sir JAMES F. GARRICK, K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for Queensland): If I say anything on this occasion, it is because of my official relation with Queensland, which has taken so prominent a part in helping Sir William MacGregor to administer the new possession. I think myself the occupancy of New Guinea affords a very instructive incident in the history of British colonisation. Great Britain always manifested a great deal of hesitancy in either proclaiming sovereignty or assuming a protectorate over any part of eastern New Guinea. It was only after persistent and repeated representations that united Australia could make its voice heard in this country. Even then assurances were required of us that we would undertake for a term of years four-fifths of the cost of the administration of the Colony, which the three Colonies—New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland—continue to bear now. The administration of New Guinea has always struck me in two lights. There is that which has reference entirely to the natives of the island, and I think, with all respect to some of those who may be sitting round me, there is that which has to do with the development of New Guinea by persons outside New Guinea. I should not myself for an instant—and from the paper there would not appear to be any necessity—interfere with the rights and privileges, and it may be even the superstitions of the islanders; but, as Sir W. MacGregor himself says, you cannot expect the contributing Colonies to carry on the administration of New Guinea merely and solely for philanthropic purposes. The extension of the trade of this country must be pressed forward. There must be room found in the outlying portions of the dominions of Great Britain and, so far as suitable, in New Guinea, as elsewhere, under proper rules and safeguards, for the superabundant population of this country. There is, besides that, the room, under such safeguards, for the employment of British capital in the development of the Possession. Sir Thomas Mcllwraith has said the island was not wanted because we desired more territory, or because Queensland wanted to exploit New Guinea for the purpose of coloured labour. He held I believe, and I think rightly, that we wanted no foreign power located there, but that New Guinea might ultimately form part of Australia. Sir



W. MacGregor has given us a most interesting paper. He has proved almost to demonstration that that half of his subject to which I have referred—the care of the natives—has been greatly developed, and is progressing. And I am glad to think—I speak here under correction—that he, too, sees there are parts of New Guinea which may be settled by outside capital. I hope when, some years hence, we see Sir W. MacGregor here to give an account of what he has done, the picture will be greatly filled up, and that what he has already done for the natives will not only be extended and consolidated, but that running side by side with it will be settlement in British New Guinea by persons and capital from outside. I would only add that to his capacity, zeal, and fearlessness, Sir W. MacGregor adds considerable tact, and he has succeeded in doing what many public men fail to do, for he has managed to satisfy and to be the friend of all sorts and conditions of politicians.

The Right Hon. Lord STANMORE, G.C.M.G. : I have never been in New Guinea. I know little, if anything, more of its administration than any one knows who has read the published reports of Sir W. MacGregor. But if I know little about New Guinea, I know a good deal about Sir W. MacGregor. Some twenty-five years ago I was Governor of Mauritius. Under that government are the Seychelles Islands—very beautiful and very interesting little islands they are. But in those days they were very much out of the way, and nobody knew much about them. They were looked down upon in Mauritius itself, which rather despised them, and grudged spending a penny on them. There was one doctor in those islands—only one—whilst the islands are many, and separated by large intervals of often stormy sea. I visited the Seychelles and took great interest in them, and I saw that one of the things they wanted above all others was another medical man. I was not the first governor who had seen that. Other governors had seen it before, and had asked for it. We must not seek to unveil those deep mysteries of state which lie, or are supposed to lie, hid somewhere in the secret recesses of the Colonial Office, but “it is said” that the answer to these representations—the request that another medical man should be sent to the Seychelles Islands—was conveyed in the suggestion that one of the medical officers of Port Louis might visit “the island” (there are a dozen) once a week; and it is also said that the respectful answer to that suggestion was that as it took nearly a week to go there from Mauritius, it would be a rather difficult arrangement to carry out. However, I had better luck, for I was informed a second medical officer would be appointed. Now, there are always a certain number



of expectant medical men—most estimable people, no doubt—on the Colonial Office list, and looking for appointments. But I wanted not an estimable man, but a very special man—a man for a special sort of work, and who would be able to be of use in many matters not medical. So I set a friend of mine in England to look out for such a man. He knew what I wanted, and where to find the sort of man. The man he selected was Sir Wm. MacGregor, and he was nominated to the Colonial Office as the man whom I wished to have as medical officer in those islands. The nomination was approved, but with the expression of a sort of mild surprise, if not reproof, that I had not taken one of the gentlemen already on the list. However, I knew what I was about, and I think by this time the Colonial Office must feel that in having brought them the services of Sir Wm. MacGregor I made for them an uncommonly good bargain. He worked in Seychelles for some time, and I saw there what there was in him. For he was not only the medical officer, but the life and soul of all the work that had to be done there, as inspector of schools, inspector of liberated Africans employed in planting, magistrate, civil status officer, &c. With perfect courage and perfect tact he managed, as no other man would have managed, to get work done in and under difficulties of such a position. I found I had got in him a man after my own heart, and I said to myself that wherever I went if I could get him to come and help me I would. Not long after I was appointed to Fiji, and I asked Dr. MacGregor to come with me. He said he would, not knowing, he said, what his appointment was to be, or what it was he was going to do. He came, first, in a medical capacity as chief medical officer of the islands, but he had not been long there before I felt, I won't say that he was wasted—for he did uncommonly good work there—but that he might be more useful still in a political capacity, and he added that political office of colonial treasurer to his medical office, without giving the latter up. All the time I was in Fiji he was there, and if ever there was a man who worked with a most thorough conscientious devotion to duty, a most untiring energy and most unselfish courage, it was Dr. MacGregor. Since then he has been promoted to this higher post. What he has done there he has not exactly told you, for he is not the man to speak of his own exploits, but you will see from the paper what work he has done there. He has been fortunate—very fortunate—in the relations which have subsisted between him and the Government of Queensland. The way in which successive ministries of that Colony have supported him is highly to their honour. The fact is those Colonial Governments are in some ways freer and

abler to deal in such a manner with such a man, than are the head offices here in England. Here they are fettered to a great extent by routine and fear of responsibility, and their course too often is to give a man great powers and then be so afraid he may misuse them, that they fetter him in such a way that he cannot use them at all. The Government of Queensland has taken a different line. They found they had got a good man, and they knew when they had got a good man to do their work, the best way was to tell him what they wanted done, and leave him to do it after his own fashion. And if men were more frequently left to do after the fashion of Sir William MacGregor we should have a great deal more good work done in the world. My object in rising was simply to bear my humble testimony to what I have known of him during the last twenty-five years—known of him in intimacy, often extremely close, and in positions of all kinds, sometimes positions of danger, always positions of trust. At the same time, I should be wanting, however, in candour and in courage if I were not to say that while I fully agree with all that has fallen from him to-day, I am not sure that I can quite share his serene optimism as to the future. There are dangers ahead on which I will not dwell now, which it would be out of place in this room and on this occasion to dwell on, but which, I think, may afford cause for serious meditation to us all.

Admiral J. MORESBY: Previous speakers have said they know nothing personally of New Guinea, and their speeches have not been less valuable, perhaps, on that account; but I, at all events, do know something about it. It is twenty years or more since I first called the attention of my countrymen to the enormous importance of New Guinea by having explored, and discovered, and taken possession in Her Majesty's name of what now is part of the Queen's possessions. The work done was in itself the last of the kind that could be done in the way of extensive maritime discovery between the Arctic and the Antarctic circles—the last of the kind of work done by the old navigators. It was for us to explore some 700 miles of unknown coast line, to discover some 140 islands, twenty-five of which were large and inhabited islands, and to have the proud privilege of being able to write on noble landmarks names honoured and revered in England. I did this on my own responsibility, and the work I did was not approved of by the then naval authorities; indeed, excepting for the Australian Governments, it received only the cold shoulder in our own country. But it was a proud thing to be able to write on the map the names of Cape Nelson, Mount Victory, Trafalgar, and Collingwood Bay, and many

others. I recollect two lofty peaks in the Finisterre mountains, of which, on a fine clear day, we were able to approximate the altitude. They were some 10,000 feet high, and they stood facing each other. One we called Mount Gladstone, and the other Mount Disraeli. I wrote to those two eminent men asking their permission to retain their names. I received characteristic replies. From Mr. Gladstone I had a letter full of what I can only call awful Jove-like humility, declaring that he was utterly unworthy of the high honour which I had given him of bearing the name of a mountain in New Guinea. Mr. Disraeli, with more human geniality, wrote to say how much obliged he was, and he hoped he would agree with his rival in New Guinea better than he did on the floor of the House of Commons. Sir W. MacGregor tells me the names are taken away—I am sorry for it. Why they should be taken away I don't know. I am sorry to say that many of the names I gave have been dealt with in an equally summary fashion. The reading of Sir William MacGregor's paper has, I confess, given me the most keen pleasure, for I remember, standing on the East Cape of New Guinea, the first white man that had ever stood there, surrounded by these friendly people, who had health, plenty, and contentment. I remember feeling sad at heart to think we should bring to these people such a fate as civilisation, and the Christianity such as too often accompanied it. But Sir W. MacGregor's paper has relieved my mind. I wrote to *The Times* twenty years ago to say that I hoped to see my country take up what I conceived to be her duty, and annex New Guinea, and through it have it in her power to start right with the Aborigines from the first—to prevent the first occasions of mistrust, disgust, or anger, which would at once and for ever stamp the image of greed, perfidy, and cruelty, as our likeness on the native mind. It is an immense gratification to hear from the paper that these natives, who ever treated me in a friendly way, whom I never had occasion to fire a shot upon, or in any way coerce—that these people have been treated in so unique a manner that their rights are preserved, and their lands are sacred to them, and that a wise and merciful justice is dealt out. As regards the produce of the island, the paper says exactly what I had anticipated, and what in my writings on New Guinea have shown. There is one article of commerce I would emphasise, and that is the sago-palm, which I found in the greatest abundance. As to climate, our experience was entirely that described. We had an enormous amount of work on shore; but the only disease from which we suffered was slight and malarious fever. There is one paragraph in the address which

I must ask permission to read. It is: "Gallants wear about their person, in some places, a heavy-smelling, small araceous plant, which is supposed to exercise on the softer sex an influence like that of Venus's girdle on the other." Why that interesting paragraph was not read I do not know. In a lecture I gave at Wellington, New Zealand, twenty-two years ago, I spoke of this love-philtre, some of which I possessed, and I was beset by all the ladies in the place for some of it. A member of the Colonial Institute, whom I met the other day, had forgotten all the rest of the lecture, but he remembered that. I am sure that any of us here, if we meet Sir W. MacGregor twenty years hence, will have forgotten the love-philtre, but we shall remember the weighty and valuable substance of the lecture he has delivered to us.

The Right Rev. Bishop SELWYN: I had the unique privilege, not only of being here, but of having been present to-day when my own great University honoured itself by honouring Sir William MacGregor. Before that degree was conferred we were discussing the weighty question whether undergraduates when they come up should be required to write an English essay; and as I watched the voting, I could not help thinking that the man who was waiting there to take his degree had been engaged in writing not only English but England on the face of the world, and that in the way most characteristic of our English people. His paper was so modest that you would hardly notice, perhaps, the little bits which missionaries like Mr. Chalmers and myself would recognise, but when you come to read that paper in full, you will see in it a type of the process which has been writing England over the world. You see an Englishman, brought up as a doctor, seized upon first of all by his old chief Lord Stanmore, and straightway turned into a politician, and then he is suddenly planted in a remote corner of the globe to rule over I forget how many thousands of miles. With what? Nothing—really no force at all. His force now is sixty native constabulary, with a magnificent reserve of twenty! Look at the moral force the Englishman exercises. Mr. Bayard, the American Ambassador, told his countrymen recently that one of the things which impressed him most of all in England was the policeman who stands at one of our crossings and directs the traffic. Sir W. MacGregor has used the policeman in a way that is perfectly marvellous. He recruits a man from a tribe hitherto hostile, puts in his hand a little staff with a crown at the end, and sticks him down as the policeman of his village, and straightway the tribe is pacified. And this shows an intimate knowledge of native character. It is prone to respect the



policeman. I knew a great chief in one of our islands whose power was waning, and in order to resuscitate his authority, he appropriated, though he only knew of him by hearsay, the august name of "Policimani," and ever after, under the direst penalties, you had to address him by that name. But Sir W. MacGregor uses not only the policeman but the prisoner. That idea is, I believe, absolutely unique. When you consider what Sir W. MacGregor has done in this tropical climate, among wild natives, with so little means of making felt his authority, and that of the Crown—when you think that he has taught the natives to trust him and to trust the word of the Englishman—when you find that he has inspired the English settlers with his own spirit, and that he can say of them, as he has said to-night, that they uniformly keep their word with the natives—a magnificent praise—when you find a man administering a Colony like that in the way he has administered it, I think you will say that, though there may have been wrong things done by England, this is one of the good things she has done. You feel that that is the spirit in which our Colonies ought to be, and very often are, administered, and you feel that we have gone into New Guinea taking with us a man who will see that as far as in him lies natives shall suffer no hurt. I confess I look with envy at the picture, and I hope it will not be long before the Colonial Office may be induced to introduce some such beneficent administration into my old diocese of Melanesia.

Captain HEATH, R.N., detailed some impressions of the natives of New Guinea, gathered during the voyage of H.M.S. *Rattlesnake* in the year 1849. They were occasionally threatening and troublesome, and once very nearly succeeded in capturing the *Bramble*. You will see (he said) what a change has taken place. I consider Sir W. MacGregor has done an immense work, and that we may thoroughly congratulate him on the wonderful way in which he has brought the whole of that Possession under control. I think that to Sir Samuel Griffith is due some of the credit of having recommended him to that important post.

The CHAIRMAN: It is now my pleasant duty to move a vote of thanks to the reader of the paper and to the other gentlemen who have addressed us, and who have given us most valuable information. I said at the beginning how valuable I thought Sir W. MacGregor's services had been—valuable to the public, to those who take a particular interest in the Colonies, and to those, also, who are interested in scientific objects and in the promotion of the most useful parts of geographical knowledge, and I think, after hearing the paper, you

will agree the Society could not have done better than ask him to contribute a paper. It is a paper of the utmost value, and at the same time of great simplicity: indeed, I never heard a paper of the kind couched in such simple language. There are one or two points on which, I confess, I should have liked to ask him to give us information. For instance, we have had described to us British New Guinea, a sort of buffer state between Australia to the south of Torres Straits and the Dutch and German possessions. Had there been time, I should have liked to ask him something about the progress which has been made by these foreign states in the immediate vicinity of British New Guinea. Of the Dutch State I believe very little can be said. It lay idle for a long time, and if there are any white inhabitants there now they must be extremely few, and the trade very small. But the German Colony is of a very different character, and it would have been interesting to hear something about that Colony and its prospects of development. It is too late now, but possibly, on some future occasion, we may have some information on the subject. I very well remember when the question arose of taking over this territory the doubts raised as to the position of the northern part to which Germany had laid claim, and the want of specific information as to the prospects of its becoming a formidable or friendly or unfriendly neighbour. However, we have got, as we have heard, a territory of extreme value, and most advantageous as regards its position. I do not think that on any occasion of the opening of a new country a start has been made with such success as in this instance, and what we ought specially to do is to endeavour to our utmost to see how the development of that country under its present institutions, and the larger institution which must follow, can best take place. I do not think any of us will forget what we have learnt to-night, and whatever the fortunes of that country may be, they will be connected in our minds with the admirable paper Sir W. MacGregor has read.

The motion was cordially agreed to.

Sir WILLIAM MACGREGOR K.C.M.G.: I wish to thank you on behalf of British New Guinea for the kind and indulgent way in which you have listened to the paper, and I will not detain you at this hour by making a speech. It has been a great pleasure to me to read the paper I had prepared for you, and it would be a great gratification to me if I could only think that it might result in our capturing some planters for the new Colony. If we should only be fortunate enough in doing that, I am sure they would have no cause to complain of the Government, who will be only too glad

to receive them, and to do anything in reason that lies within its power to assist them. I have been very much pleased to see the number of gentlemen present at this meeting. I feel ashamed of the many things they have said of me. They have depicted me as being what I should like to be, but what unfortunately I know I am not. Before sitting down, I wish to be allowed to propose a vote of thanks to our Chairman. For my own part I feel it a great honour that we have had to preside over us a gentleman who has been connected with Australia as Mr. Childers has been. It is a great assistance to the reader of a paper to feel that the gentleman who occupies the chair is in sympathy with him. I have felt that, and I beg to thank Mr. Childers on my own behalf and on yours also.

## TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY BANQUET.

A BANQUET to celebrate the Twenty-Seventh Anniversary of the foundation of the Institute took place at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Wednesday, March 6, 1895. The Right Hon. the Earl of Jersey, G.C.M.G., a Vice-President, presided.

The following is a complete list of those present :—

Sir John W. Akerman, K.C.M.G. (Natal), Mr. P. M. Arbuthnot, Sir G. S. Baden-Powell, K.C.M.G., M.P., Messrs. Frank Bailey, Albert P. Baker, F. W. Bates, Moberley Bell, J. S. Bhumgara (India), James R. Boosé, Lord Brassey, K.C.B. (Governor-elect of Victoria), Messrs. C. E. Bright, C.M.G. (Victoria), Everard Brown (Victoria), G. Buxton Browne, A. H. Burt (Trinidad), William Chamberlain, Henry Clarke, Percy Clarke, J. G. Colmer, C.M.G. (Canada), D. R. Dangar (New South Wales), Sir Alfred Dent, K.C.M.G. (British North Borneo), Mr. J. M. Dickinson (Queensland), Right Hon. Sir Charles Dilke, Bart., M.P., Messrs. John Duthie, M.H.R. (New Zealand), Frank M. Dutton, Fred. Dutton, General Sir J. Bevan Edwards, K.C.M.G., C.B., Messrs. C. Washington Eves, C.M.G., Wm. D. Freshfield, R. Gambles, F. C. Garrick, Sir James F. Garrick, K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for Queensland), David George (New South Wales), J. F. S. Gooday, Henry Grant (New South Wales), General Sir Henry Green, K.C.S.I., C.B., Messrs. Charles Griffiths, J. Wesley Hall (Queensland), W. H. Harris, C.M.G., R. E. Haslam, M. W. Hervey, G. L. Houston, James Huddart (Victoria), Dr. C. Inglis, Hon. J. Inglis (New South Wales), Messrs. D. R. Kemp, Henry Kimber, M.P., Lord Kinnaird, Dr. Knox, Mr. Robert Landale (New South Wales), Colonel R. B. Lane, Sir Hugh Low, G.C.M.G., General R. W. Lowry, C.B., Messrs. A. R. McEwen, Walter McDermott, D. J. Mackay, A. J. Malcolm (Victoria), W. E. Maxwell, C.M.G. (Governor of the Gold Coast Colony), P. Mennell, Sir Charles Mills, K.C.M.G., C.B. (Agent-General for the Cape of Good Hope), Messrs. Edward Moore, J. Crane Nicholls, R. Nivison, John Noble, C.M.G. (Cape Colony), John Norbury, J. S. O'Halloran (Secretary), R. Oldham, Major J. Roper Parkington, Messrs. H. M. Paul, Walter Peace, C.M.G. (Agent-General for Natal), J. B. Poole, R. H. Prance, — Preston, William Ridley, W. E. Robinson, Fred. J. Rose, C. Rous-Marten, E. Salmon, Sir Saul Samuel, K.C.M.G., C.B. (Agent-General for New South Wales), Mr. A. Sclanders (New Zealand), Sir Ambrose Shea, K.C.M.G., Messrs. W. H. Simmonds, C. C. Skarratt, Sir C. Clementi Smith, G.C.M.G., Admiral Sir Houston Stewart, G.C.B., Messrs. G. Sturgeon, M. C. Thomson (Queensland), H. Tichborne, R. T. Turnbull, Alderman Sir G. R. Tyler, Bart., Messrs. W. C. Tyndale, W. N. Waller (Queensland), Colonel F. B. P. White (Jamaica), Mr. Ellis H. Williams, Rev. C. Wood (United States), Sir James A. Youl, K.C.M.G., Captain F. E. Younghusband, C.I.E., Mr. R. E. Young-husband.

The guests were received by the following Vice-Presidents and Councillors :—

The Earl of Jersey, G.C.M.G., Lord Brassey, K.C.B., Sir James A. Youl K.C.M.G. (Vice-Presidents), and Mr. Frederick Dutton, Lieut.-General Sir J. Bevan Edwards, K.C.M.G., C.B., Mr. C. Washington Eves, C.M.G., Major-General Sir Henry Green, K.C.S.I., C.B., Lieut.-General R. W. Lowry, C.B., Sir Charles Mills, K.C.M.G., C.B., Sir Saul Samuel, K.C.M.G., C.B. (Councillors).



After dinner the CHAIRMAN proposed the Toast of "The Queen," which was duly honoured.

Sir HUGH LOW, G.C.M.G. : I have the honour to propose the health of "The Prince and Princess of Wales, and the rest of the Royal Family." This toast is one which, fortunately for me, needs no preparatory remarks ; it is received with never-failing enthusiasm wherever the English language is spoken. It has, however, a special claim from the Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute from the great interest in our Colonies which has always been taken by the Princes and Princesses of the Royal Family, and from the fact of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales having been since 1878 the President of this Institute, and it is under his presidency that it has been able to reach its present high state of efficiency, and establish itself in the commodious house it now occupies. It is not to the great influence alone which attaches to the high personal position in the State of our illustrious President that his gracious patronage is valuable. It is well known that his personal efforts are always unsparingly employed in the advancement of every great undertaking which has for its object the preservation of the unity, peace, and prosperity of this great Empire ; and the Royal Colonial Institute, which has proved itself to have successfully assisted in those great needs, has fully shared his Royal Highness' support, and on several occasions has been honoured by his presence. It is most gratifying to all Her Majesty's subjects to know that H.R.H. the Duke of York shares the patriotic interest in Imperial affairs, so eminently a characteristic of his illustrious father, and it is yet further a matter of congratulation that, since our last anniversary banquet, British subjects all the world over have hailed with loyal enthusiasm the continuation of the royal line in the person of Prince Edward of York. I have now the honour to propose "The Prince and Princess of Wales, and the rest of the Royal Family."

The Right Hon. Lord BRASSEY, K.C.B. : I have to propose for your acceptance the toast of the Naval and Military Forces of the Empire. On the present occasion I may appropriately remind you of the great services which these Forces have rendered in the past in building up our noble Empire, and these Forces are continued at the present day in the defence and protection of that Empire. The Naval and Military Forces are not only a defence and a protection against any possible external foe, but they are a link, and perhaps one of the strongest links, that binds the Mother Country and her daughter States together. I cannot doubt that our Colonial fellow-subjects are the first to recognise that it would be impossible to

provide for themselves Forces so completely equipped in every arm as those which the Mother Country with her great resources is able to create and maintain for the common defence. In this connection I should like to be permitted to say that I am not one of those who think that the Colonies, the daughter States, have fallen short in the discharge of their duty for the mutual and combined defence of the Empire. It is quite true they have not remitted large sums to London to be spent under our Imperial Administration. It would have been hardly reasonable to expect that they should do so, but they have relieved us of great burdens in recent years by undertaking as they have done, and in a very effective manner, measures for their local defence. I am glad to be able to connect this toast with the names of two extremely distinguished officers, one my dear friend, Admiral Sir Houston Stewart, who will reply for the Navy. He had a splendid career afloat, and he followed that career by doing great services, rendered most efficiently, when he and I were at the Admiralty. You all remember that for many years he was the Naval Officer who filled the important post of Controller of the Navy. For the Army I have the pleasure of calling upon General Sir William Cameron, who has recently returned after distinguished service at the Cape of Good Hope.

Admiral Sir HOUSTON STEWART, G.C.B. : I rise with an anxious wish to return my best, my cordial thanks to you for the honour you have done the gallant profession which I am proud to represent to-night. I believe there is no portion of our great Empire to which the assured strength and thorough efficiency of the Navy is of more vital importance than to the Colonies. Equally is the prosperity and well-being and security of our Colonies of importance to the Navy. Therefore, we have a mutual investment which attaches us in the closest degree to our beloved Mother Country. A gifted historian, now no more, tells us that the foundation of our Colonial Empire was laid by the victories of the Seven Years' War. Great Britain then became for the first time Mistress of the Seas ; the world was opened to merchants, explorers, and colonists, and after a few years the navigator Cook commenced that memorable series of voyages which surveyed strange and savage lands, now in course of time transformed into other Englands, vigorous children of that great Mother of Nations. Of the Navy I have but little to say, because I am glad to think that that is a subject of interest, and therefore of information, to the people generally of this country. But what I have to say is this. The greatest authority on the Navy is the noble lord who proposed this toast. He knows more about

the Navy of the present day, I may say, than I do. In fact, nobody knows more, and I confidently challenge his contradiction when I say that never in my lifetime—a longer lifetime than his, I wish it had been as useful a one—never has the Navy been in the state of strength and efficiency that it is now. Never have we possessed a finer corps of officers, a better trained corps of officers, and never have our men attained the same efficiency in training and discipline that they have now. Never have we possessed ships that more entirely possessed the confidence of the men that man and the officers that command them. And above all, never, I believe, has the Naval Administration of this Country commanded more general confidence throughout the Navy than at the present time. Now, gentlemen, I have said this, and you may say, This is a lively old Admiral. It is not so. In common with every man and officer in the Navy, I am now a mourner ; I mourn a gallant spirit that has been taken from us ; I mourn a beloved friend, and an old mess-mate. I speak of the late Admiral Sir Geoffrey Hornby, a brilliant spirit, a gallant spirit, a chivalrous spirit, one who possessed the entire love and confidence of the Navy. Mysterious are the ways of Providence. His memory will live with us for ever. And there are others that have been brought up with him, young officers, who will follow his lead when the opportunity offers. I have only to thank you for the great honour you have done me.

The gallant flag of England floats bravely in the breeze.

General Sir WILLIAM CAMERON, K.C.B. : I thank you most cordially on behalf of the Army for the warm manner in which this toast has been proposed and responded to. It is particularly agreeable to me, after my recent Colonial experience, to return thanks for the Army in an assembly so representative of our Colonial Empire as this is. The warm and cordial welcome extended to Her Majesty's troops in all the Colonies in which I have served is, I am sure, never forgotten by them. There is a warmth of feeling in our young Colonies that you don't always meet with, I am sorry to say, in the Old Country. I don't believe that the life of the British officer, and the British rank and file, could be happier than in Her Majesty's Colonies. Perhaps the welcome is too great sometimes for our rank and file, especially on first arriving at a place, and departing. I think one of the most useful Emigration Organisations is the Army. We always leave a lot of very good fellows behind us. You see them all along the different lines of rail, and so on, and I

am sure as regards the last place I have come from, there are no emigrants who have been more useful to the country than the old soldiers. I trust that the Army may always do its duty right well in the Colonies, for whilst the Navy is scouring the seas to protect our commerce, I hope that our garrisons will be sufficiently numerous and properly sufficient to guard our coaling stations. We have not large forces to show in the Colonies ; we cannot go in for those large spectacular manœuvres and so on ; but we have the finest opportunity in the world in our Colonies for perfecting the units of the Army. We can train our squadrons, and companies, and regiments better perhaps in the Colonies than in the Mother Country ; there is more ground, and more opportunities, and it is our bounden duty to do our very best in perfecting all those small units of which our garrisons are composed in the Colonies. We have to do the very utmost in our power to make them thoroughly efficient to guard all those important posts against any enemy, or combination of enemies, that may come against them. It used to be said there was nothing like the English regimental system. In those days of course there was a good deal of the social included ; but I maintain that every regiment in Her Majesty's service ought to contain within itself the means of affording all the instruction that is necessary in the present day. From the colonel downwards, if you in mimic warfare exercise your ingenuity, and the greatest powers of your mind to try to imitate everything that can possibly occur on the field of battle, or in a campaign, there is no army that ought to be more perfect than the British Army. We do not sufficiently, I am sorry to say, recognise the importance of this training of our small units. It is all coming ; we are improving from day to day, and I shall watch with the greatest interest the directions that we take with regard to this very important matter of training our small bodies of men wherever they are, instead of looking forward always to those grander manœuvres which do not benefit the subordinates, but which teach our generals of course how to handle large bodies of men. We are always finding fault with our tools ; that is a mistake. I am quite sure from what I have seen in my experience, and it is a pretty long one, that wherever we are we have the means of doing a great deal towards making ourselves thoroughly efficient according to the requirements of the present time. It is most absurd of course to go on the old principle that the British soldier never knows when he is beaten ; but of course with these marvellous appliances and new weapons, if we are put in a hole it is much more difficult to get out of it than formerly. We



must not get into a hole, and the way of avoiding getting into a hole is to train all our small parties of men to the very utmost extent. I do not wish to enter into any controversial matters. Some say that under a voluntary system you must treat the soldier according to the rates of labour. Well, you must recollect that in 1801 I think we had about 600,000 men on foot, what with Militia, Volunteers, &c. If you paid them all in time of war according to labour rates, we should raise our National Debt in a short time to something tremendous. You must endeavour always, as far as you can, to raise an army of sufficient strength, but it must be a fairly cheap one; and it is our business to make it a fairly cheap one. It is not for military men to be preaching extravagance of every sort; I am the very last person to do that, and I hope my brother officers will agree with me that it is our duty to keep down expenses as much as possible, at the same time keeping up the numbers of the Army and its efficiency. In time of peace, and considering the home that is made for us in our Colonies, it is the business of our Army to identify itself in every Colony thoroughly with the people, and to recognise wherever we go every man quite as much as a fellow-countryman in the Colonies as we do in our own country. It should be our business also to identify ourselves thoroughly with all that goes on—in fact, to form part of the community—and do our very best to make that community happy and more prosperous. As far as my experience goes, I think the Army has been doing that wherever they have been. I quite agree with Lord Brassey in saying that under these circumstances there can be no greater link or bond of union between the Mother Country and the Colonies than one of Her Majesty's Garrisons. I believe I have to respond for all the Land Forces. All I can say is that the connection between the Auxiliaries and Her Majesty's Regular Forces has been drawn tighter and tighter as time goes on. I believe we pull thoroughly well together with that old constitutional force which has not been made sufficiently much of, the Militia, and which contains within itself great elements of efficiency. With regard to the Volunteers I think the connection between the Regular Force and the Volunteers is from day to day growing into all that it ought to be. In conclusion, I will only add that my heart is very much in the Colonies, quite as much, I think, as the heart of any man present, and I have never spent happier times than amongst the Colonies of Her Majesty's Empire.

The CHAIRMAN: There is a fine ring about the next toast, the "United Empire." Atlas has been represented as able to bear the

whole burden of the world upon his shoulders, but I do not think another mythological character, namely, Mercury, would have been able to compress into an after-dinner speech all the fact, and force, and feeling which are centred in the words of this toast. I am sure you will forgive me, therefore, if I do not attempt to travel all round the world in proposing it. I will only say that every part of the Empire, however distant, however small, is comprised in it. The gallant officers who have responded for the warlike forces have pointed out the close connection which exists between them and the different parts of the Empire, and how much the different parts of the Empire depend upon them for their connection. It is perfectly true that Commerce must rely upon the sword for defence, but it is equally true that the sword would grow rusty were it not that Commerce comes to the rescue to pay its little bills. I should like here to put in a word or two for those civilians who have done and are doing quite as much to make and uphold the Empire, as even those gallant men who belong to our naval and military services. There are many here to-night who have served the Empire well in official and also in private capacities, and both those classes are comprised in this toast. This evening I had a pleasant surprise. One of the gentlemen belonging to the class to whom I have just referred came into the room, and I found that after some thirty-three years I met an old school-fellow, a man who has done a great deal, both as a private individual in the furtherance of trade, and also in additions to the Empire, namely, Sir Alfred Dent. It is typical really of our United Empire to think that we two, who have never seen each other since our days at Eton, should meet together at the hospitable table of the Royal Colonial Institute. Many other similar cases have occurred, no doubt, at different times in the history of this Institute. I should like to take this opportunity of congratulating Australia on the appointment of Lord Brassey. I feel quite sure that his appointment is a great gain to the United Empire. He will bring an earnestness and a knowledge and a kindly instinct to the important questions which will come before him, which few men could hope to rival, and I am equally certain he will find in the frank and generous nature of our Australian brethren, a more than ample reward for any work he may do there. He will not have the burden of having to annex territories; his lot will be a happier one. He will give a lead to all those moral, material, and intellectual forces which are so conspicuous in England and in the Colonies, and which are the result of our civilisation and our forms of government. The American Minister last year, in one

of his delight-giving speeches, alluded to the laws of Fiji which had been made by Sir John Thurston, and said they were the articulate expression of a higher civilisation. That higher civilisation is one of the results of our United Empire. Wherever we go, and wherever those who belong to the Empire go, we always carry, if it is not presumptuous to say so, a higher tone and a nobler civilisation than are carried by the people belonging to any other country in the world. Long may this be so. And one of the great reasons why this is so is that our race devotes itself not merely to lording it over the peoples over whom they have been placed, but they consult their feelings and their wishes, and they also try to increase that most invaluable aid to Peace, namely Commerce. Commerce is, after all, one of the greatest civilisers of the world. It may be said that Commerce and communication and kinship form a tolerably good cement for the Empire. And perhaps I ought to add at this time, Cricket. I am a believer in manly sports, and I quite believe that there is nothing which tends to keep us more together than the love of those sports, so long as they are carried out in a straightforward and honourable manner. Communication, easy and reliable, between different parts of the Empire is most important, and we should be very wrong if we were to throw away the chances which are offered for improving it. London and England owe a great deal to communication. A few years ago, not very many either, there were few of our statesmen or leading public men who knew by practical experience what the United Empire means. Now that has been changed. Upon my right sits Lord Brassey, upon my left is Sir Charles Dilke. They both know what Greater Britain means; they both know the problems of Greater Britain. No doubt those before us were able men, and, when they had to legislate, they had most excellent ideas of their own. But if legislation is to be successful, or if we are to be successful, we must know the ideas and the conditions of those who are most interested, and for whom we are called upon to legislate or work. I must name another gentleman who presided here upon a happy occasion, I believe the silver wedding of the Institute, and that is Lord Rosebery. I mention his name particularly because we are all glad to know he is recovering from his illness. I mention it also because I look upon him as a fine type of the British statesman, whom we must have in the future if we are to have a growing and a united Empire. Of course I do not talk about domestic politics. There is no man who has done more than Lord Rosebery to inspire, to put life and force into the sentiment of a united Empire, and I think we should always be glad upon

an occasion like this to recognise those who have worked in the past, and who we may expect will, in the future, work for this great cause. If the conditions are so favourable, if there are so many people sitting in Parliament, and not only in Parliament, but here and elsewhere, perfectly ready to give their advice and authority upon matters relating to different parts of the Empire, if we have such favourable conditions, surely this is a time when we ought to try and grapple with some of the questions affecting the Empire. It would be impossible to touch upon all those questions, but there is one which perhaps I may be excused for saying a few words upon, and that is the question of our inter-Empire trade. Nothing was more remarkable at Ottawa than the strong United Empire principle, and the determination for an expansion of trade within the Empire. They went hand in hand together. It would seem a very curious thing that in a country which we call united for almost every purpose, there should yet be treaties which would compel a Colony to treat the Mother Country exactly as if she were a foreign country; yet such is the case at the present day. It may be that no Colony would wish to give particular advantage to British goods, but at the same time every Colony ought to have the power to do so. Between the Colonies themselves, between almost all the Colonies themselves, at the present time there is nothing in the shape of a treaty which stands in the way of inter-Colonial trade except one small matter, and in regard to that I think I may say that the thanks of not only those who were at Ottawa, but of everyone who is connected at all with the development of trade in the Colonies, must be tendered to Lord Ripon for the readiness with which he has brought forward a Bill in order to remove any difficulties which may exist in that way at the present time. This is a clear proof that the ruling statesmen of England are anxious whenever they possibly can to meet the wishes of the Colonists and advance Colonial trade, and to show that they have none of that narrow jealousy which has so often prevented the true development of countries. If it had not been for one of those little hitches which sometimes occur between the two houses, a question of Procedure, the bill would probably have been very far onward in its course, but I have no doubt whatever that with the aid of Sir Charles Dilke and others, it will very soon steer its way even through the mazes of the House of Commons. But I cannot help thinking that in the matter of those treaties at which I have hinted, namely, the Belgian and the Zollverein Treaties, it does seem strange that



Great Britain should have given up to other countries that which other countries do not give up to her. I do not believe that France puts Algeria in the same position as we have put Australia. Yet it is highly necessary in these days of fierce commercial competition between different countries, that this Empire should do everything it possibly can to foster its trade. My argument is not in the least meant to interfere with the broad principles of the Free Trade policy of England. It only refers to the fact that it seems hard that British goods should have to be treated in Colonial markets on the same footing as if they came from foreign countries. I was saying that the competition in different parts of the world was fierce against us. We have a very fierce competition with France not only as regards markets, but as regards countries. In the interesting debates which have taken place in Paris during the last few days, one of the speakers said bluntly that it was the sole aim of France to make England feel the harm she was doing to France by not keeping her engagements in Egypt, and to show to her that France would come up to her in other parts of the world besides the Mediterranean. We who have been in Australia know that France has not always shown very much regard for our natural feelings, and that in other parts of the world she has tried to do her best to interfere with English prospects. I myself am heartily tired of the pleasing but hardly faithful pictures which diplomatists are fond of drawing of the good relations between these two countries. I always wish they were good, but it is one thing to have them made good in speech, and another thing to find them always working hostilely against us when you come to the field of importance. Whatever France may do, we generally grin and bear it, and never make her feel that we too, if we chose, could do some things to cause her difficulties. Whilst we must remember that the portions of the globe are being very rapidly absorbed by the great Powers, we are obliged ourselves to secure fresh ground for new markets, and we ought also to make our own internal markets good. There are some who think we ought to keep within our own little shell. For myself, I don't believe in that at all. I believe that the United Empire means an empire which grows in importance and in usefulness to the world. I believe also that it is an essential necessity, so far as Great Britain is concerned, that our Empire should grow, and that it should be preserved and protected by the great forces alluded to. There is nothing in Trade or Commerce which need sap our national character. On the contrary, I believe that the strongest way in which you can bind together the Empire is by

those bonds of Commerce, with all their concomitant advantages of prosperity and peace. If we pursue that policy with carefulness, but also with courage, we may be quite sure that, whenever the critical moment arises, we shall find we have not in any way sapped the vigour and the power and the patriotism of our race. I am happy to connect this toast with the name of a gentleman who knows a great deal about many parts of this Empire, Sir George Baden-Powell. I am quite sure that in him the unity of the Empire has a firm friend, and that the Colonies will find in him a man who will always be ready to recognise the justice of their demands, at the same time that he appreciates the interests of the Empire at large.

SIR GEORGE BADEN-POWELL, K.C.M.G., M.P. : I rise with some diffidence, and I may say with some fear and trembling, to respond to this toast, which is what I may term the business toast of the evening. The Chairman, in his noble speech, expressed, in terms, which could not be bettered, both the toast and the response. In the course of his remarks, he alluded to the fact that we have with us this evening officials and commercial men who have had no small share in making our Empire great and united. These men, I venture to say, for their own offices and their own localities, which they have raised to enormous prosperity and importance, are far better mouthpieces of the work that has been done than I am, but I do claim one small advantage over most of them, and that is that by a lucky concatenation of circumstances I happen to have visited and worked in almost every part of our great and glorious Empire. I mention this not by way of boast, but in this sense—that no one except the veriest fool could have touched with his own foot and seen with his own eyes the soils and places I have seen without having experienced something to stir his heart on the subject on which I am now addressing you. This, however, is not the occasion for prolonged speech-making on that topic, and I will content myself by alluding to two points in connection with our Empire. The first has reference to an event which, characteristically enough, our Chairman has omitted, or all but omitted, from his speech—an event which I regard as one of the greatest in the history of the past few years. I allude, of course, to the great Colonial conference at Ottawa. That event has a meaning to us which I do not think the home-keeping public have as yet appreciated. It is that within our united Empire we have one great, growing, and powerful body—namely, our united Colonies. Those united Colonies spoke with no uncertain sound. I see here several distinguished gentlemen, who at Ottawa represented our Colonies—

my friend, Sir Charles Mills, was one of the delegates—and they will tell you that at that conference were the picked men from our great Colonies, and that the voice of the united Colonies was even more strongly than the voice of this united Kingdom in favour of the continuance of a united Empire. The other point to which I venture to call attention is one that I do not think is as often remembered in the Mother Country as it ought to be. I suppose you will all agree that what has been the making of England and caused the expansion of England—I know, of course, that the immediate agencies were our gallant army and navy—but we must not forget that for the very first time in all human history these little islands supported that principle of individual liberty in commerce, as in everything else, which enabled us to build and carry forward this great Empire. Before I follow that train of thought further, I would say that I regard myself as having in a measure been relieved by our Chairman of speaking of that important portion of the Empire—the United Kingdom; I stand up to speak for that portion represented by our Colonies and Dependencies; though I shall pass to the Colonies in a moment I wish to insist that our Dependencies are a portion of that United Empire, and are already beginning to be a care, and a prime care, of our Colonies as well as of the Mother Country. To these Dependencies—in this I am sure Lord Brassey will bear me out when I refer to India, our greatest dependency—to them we owe great duties, on their behalf we bear great responsibilities. I speak from experience in South Africa, in days even before the discovery of gold, and when to be, as I was, an advocate of the extension of British supremacy northwards, was to be jeered at as a dreamer of impossible dreams. Our Colonists, as I knew them at the Cape, in Australia, and in Canada, in their dealings with native races were in every way worthy successors to and inheritors of the best traditions of the British race. During the last winter I had fresh evidence of this in a visit I was enabled to pay to our too neglected settlements on the West Coast of Africa. Some words fell from our Chairman as to the action of France. I made it my business to see the Frenchmen there, to talk with them, to make friends with them, and I dare to say, in three words, that we as Britishers have nothing whatever to fear from them. They may reduce tribes and colour the map green or blue, but in the end British commerce and influence must follow. A word or two on behalf of our Colonies. As I have said, our expansion over the whole wide world, the very foundations of our united Empire, were laid in the economic condition of that liberty of the individual to mind his own business. As are the

individuals so are communities, and to me the proudest fact of our Colonial history is that wherever we have found it possible the Mother Country has said to the Colonies : "All we will do is to try to enable you to mind your own business, and not let anybody interrupt you." That is the first principle, I believe, at the foundation of the prosperity of the British Empire. I remember in Australia hearing one of the most eloquent of governors describe the Colonies as—I thought with striking appropriateness—planets revolving round the central sun of England. I know from my own experience of these Colonies that they love their autonomy, that they are proud of it, but they own to—and willingly own to—one superior attraction. They keep in their course without risk of collision one with another, and without risk of collision with the central sun, because of centrifugal and centripetal forces. The former would cause them to fly off their orbit with the proud spirit of self-reliance and true British independence, but above all there is the centripetal force, which I do not suppose anything can ever destroy—the feeling that the Mother Country is to them the central sun in the system of a United Empire. I do not forget that many of us to-night are the guests of the Royal Colonial Institute. That Institute supports two Latin mottoes, *Esto perpetua*—our Empire is to last always. None of us mean ever to shirk our duties, as knaves do ; none of us will shrink from our responsibilities, as cowards do ; none of us would transgress our destiny by surrendering our rights, as fools do. The other motto is *Auspicia melioris cævi*—better days coming. We citizens of a United Empire have done magnificently in the past, but we intend and are resolved to do far better in the future.

Sir CHARLES DILKE, Bart., M.P. : The toast committed to my charge is, in fact, a double one. It is that of "Prosperity to the Royal Colonial Institute," and the "Health of our Chairman." It is only right, as a guest here, that I should say of the Royal Colonial Institute that I think no one will deny its usefulness. On the two or three occasions on which before to-night I have been its guest, the Institute has been engaged in the discussion of some of the weightiest problems which attach to a United Empire. The question of Imperial defence has been discussed in papers by Sir Bevan Edwards and others in a manner which every impartial man must admit has contributed to the strength of the Empire, and has sometimes even done that for Governments which, if our military and naval forces were efficiently overlooked and a sufficiently general view taken of the requirements of both services, Governments ought



to have done for themselves. In fact no one can deny that by its Library, its contributions to Imperial defence, to Imperial trade questions, and all questions connected with a United Empire, the Institute deserves well of the country. The second part of the toast was the Chairman's health, and I cannot but feel that it is something more than a mere compliment to a Chairman that we ought to pay to-night. If on an occasion so important as this I may glance at matters so trivial as our personal relations, I may say that some thirty years ago I was able to cheer Lord Jersey when at the second, I think, of those inter-university sports which have so competently in modern times replaced the Olympian games, he was the triumphant representative of his (which was not my) University. The gentleman whom he vanquished was, if I remember rightly, the present Sir Richard Webster. (The CHAIRMAN: I think he beat me.) At any rate I was able on many occasions to cheer Lord Jersey in those days when his costume was not perhaps that of to-night, and when—I will not speak of coats or trousers—but few stars or ribbons adorned his person. After that we know Lord Jersey as a public man and as Governor of New South Wales, in which capacities, if I may say so, he deserves well of the Empire as a whole. He certainly won the esteem of the Colonists of the Colony which, with all respect to Sir Saul Samuel, is not perhaps the easiest of Colonies to please, and he certainly won the regards of the Government which despatched him. He performed his duties there so admirably, by universal admission, that the highest compliment was paid to him which can be paid to any public man; for he was selected by the party of which he was not a member as the most competent man they could find to go as Imperial delegate to the Ottawa Conference. It has already been said that the questions that came before the Conference were of no ordinary importance. They were questions partly of trade and partly connected with Imperial defence. Lord Brassey has well said to-night that the Navy forms the very best of all the many ties which bind the Empire together. It is felt by all the Colonies—even by those in the Colonies who for other reasons perhaps, with the strength of youth, desire to stand more or less alone—that the Navy constitutes a real tie, a bond, a real asset on the side of the Imperial connection. At that Conference not only were these trade questions discussed, but questions of telegraphic and postal and mail communication, which had the closest bearing on Imperial defence. All of us in this room—all who have read Lord Jersey's report—will feel that the confidence which was placed in him by

the Imperial Government was well bestowed. In summing-up the proceedings of the Conference Lord Jersey showed great judicial power, and so far as he allowed himself to make any recommendations they were uniformly sensible and wise. We must all of us feel that he did nothing to lessen the strength of the Imperial connection, but that, on the contrary, he did everything any one man could do to cement that connection and bind all parts of the Empire together. The two great trade questions there discussed have already been alluded to. The other great topic discussed—which, indeed, was the main object of the Conference—was that of Imperial communications—inter-Colonial communications—both telegraphic and mail, especially in view of the knitting of the Empire together, and what has been called Imperial defence. We have had a good deal of controversy since then—there had been controversy before—between Sir Charles Tupper, Sir John Pender, and others, as to particular proposals. It is no doubt the case, as Sir Charles Tupper has pointed out, that our various existing telegraphic communications are risky communications, which might be easily destroyed in time of war. It might quite easily be the case that, within a week, within a few days of the outbreak of war, we should be dependent as entirely on non-telegraphic communication as we were in the days of the Great War itself. On the other hand, it is no doubt true, as Sir John Pender has pointed out, that the particular suggestions made at Ottawa and elsewhere would involve great cost, that the stretches to be covered by the cables are very great, and that it is not altogether certain from a purely commercial point of view that they would be a success. But surely the time has come when we ought to feel, if the Empire can be strengthened for defensive purposes by a wise expenditure on the part of all its members, that the expenditure ought to be incurred even apart from purely commercial considerations. No doubt there are dangers attendant upon all such lines of communication in time of war, and the risk of such communication being destroyed. My friend, Sir Charles Mills, made at Ottawa what I cannot but think a very wise suggestion, even if it is only considered as an alternative one—that, as our trade undoubtedly in time of war must mainly follow the old line by the Cape, we should at all events have a British line of telegraphs from British post to British post along that line to India and Australia. He showed that by short stretches of telegraph, each one of which would be useful in itself and comparatively cheap, we could connect England with Gibraltar, Gibraltar with Sierra Leone, and so proceed step by step to the Cape and along the other

side without crossing foreign territories as we do at the present time. It is a most dangerous thing that the communications of the Empire should depend upon the goodwill of Portugal, Persia, Turkey, and Russia, for at this moment our line to Gibraltar passes over Portuguese soil, and the lines to India and Australia over that of Turkey, Persia, and Russia. I cannot but think that in the interests of the Empire and in the interests of her defence, which is above all other considerations, being the real bond that keeps all the various parts together, we ought not to consider so much the mere cost of a particular scheme as the efficiency of the particular scheme put before us. I will only add in conclusion that the Royal Colonial Institute has done well on several occasions in bringing forward Lord Jersey and presenting him to the respect of his fellow-countrymen, and that the Imperial Government did well to choose him as its delegate to the Conference. I ask you to drink his health, coupled with that of the Institute.

The CHAIRMAN: I will say nothing about myself, and will simply thank you for the manner in which you have received this toast. But I am glad Sir Charles Dilke proposed this toast, because he has been enabled to make a speech, which I think will be of enormous value at the present day. I was glad to hear him say that we ought to consider the efficiency, and not merely the cost of a great undertaking. I hope that on all occasions of this kind we shall have the opportunity of hearing those men whose words upon great Imperial questions are of value and help to form the opinions of the people of this country, and I am sure that there is no man whose words on questions relating to Greater Britain are of greater importance than those of Sir Charles Dilke.

The proceedings then terminated.

## FIFTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Fifth Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, March 12, 1895, when Captain F. E. Younghusband, C.I.E., read a Paper entitled "On the Kashmir Frontier."

Major-General Sir Henry Green, K.C.S.I., C.B., a Member of the Council of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 6 Fellows had been elected, viz., 4 Resident and 2 Non-Resident.

Resident Fellows :—

*Sir Horace B. T. Farquhar, Bart., John William Fearnside, Walter H. Harris, C.M.G., Robert Russell.*

Non-Resident Fellows :—

*Capt. Edward J. Goodridge (Canada), A. W. Mackay (Tonga).*

It was also announced that donations to the Library of books, maps, &c. had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies, and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN briefly introduced Captain Younghusband as a distinguished officer of the Indian Staff Corps.

Before commencing his lecture, which was illustrated by numerous beautiful photographs of scenery and people, thrown upon the screen, Captain YOUNGHUSBAND said: Although this is the Royal Colonial Institute, I think occasional lectures on Indian subjects must be of interest, and the part of the Indian frontier which I will describe to you to-night is one which at the present time is particularly interesting on account of the recent approaches of Russia from the north and our corresponding advance from the south.



## ON THE KASHMIR FRONTIER.

It is perhaps not only interesting to many of you to hear something of the work which is being carried out on our Indian Frontier, but important that you in England should know what your countrymen are doing on the extreme confines of the Empire, and though I do not propose to-night to enter into the discussion of large questions of frontier policy or strategy, which it would be out of place for me to do, I think that a plain account of what is actually being done on the part of the Indian frontier with which I have been connected for some years may prove of value.

You must all of you be aware that our Indian Empire is hedged in on the north by a gigantic range of mountains—the Himalayas and the Hindu Kush. At the foot of these are the great plains of the Punjab, and up to thirty years ago our influence extended very little beyond these plains. On their immediate borders we had a few stations in the hills, and a political officer used to visit Kashmir for the summer months every year, but beyond the actual valley we interfered but little, and in the remote states of Chitral, Hunza, and Gilgit, not at all. We had no object in extending our influence, and consequently our responsibilities to these distant inaccessible regions, and therefore we did not do so.

But in Asia we cannot stay still. No European power ever can. Another power on the North was advancing steadily step by step towards us, and we have been compelled to throw forward outposts—just in the same way as the general of an army has to—in order to guard against a too sudden or unexpected collision between the two powers. Those outposts now extend over all the mountainous country up to the water-shed of the Indus, and nearly the whole of the country drained by water flowing into the Indus is now controlled by us. In like manner the Russian outposts have been pushed beyond the plains on their side of the mountain barrier right into the mountains, so that their farthest post is now on the Pamirs, and the limits of the countries under the immediate control of the Russians and ourselves are now only separated by a narrow strip of Afghan territory.

Having thus defined the limits of the active control which we exercise on the frontier, I now proceed to describe the nature of that control. In the plains of the Punjab we rule the countries directly. We have a lieutenant-governor and a staff of commissioners, deputy commissioners, assistant commissioners, judges,

secretariats, police, public works officials, and so on. The country is governed by us directly, and garrisoned by our own troops. Beyond the plains we work on a system which theoretically is almost perfect, and which in time in actual practice ought to produce most satisfactory results. This system is to leave the people to be governed by their own rulers but to exercise over these rulers a general and beneficial control. It is obviously of no advantage to us to be burdened with the whole government of the vast tracts of mountainous country on our northern frontier. But what we do want is to have the people who inhabit them in a state of stability and looking in the direction their waters flow—towards India. Similarly we have no desire to lock up large garrisons amidst these hardly-accessible mountain valleys, but we want access to them to send in troops when the occasion for doing so arises; and for this we must have not only good roads, but here again the perfect goodwill of the people.

Our most vital interests, then, are bound up in securing the regard of the inhabitants on our borders; and how we are setting to work to do this, I will now briefly set forth to you.

Nearly the whole of the mountainous country to the north of the plain of the Punjab, and stretching westwards till the territories of the Amir of Afghanistan is reached, is either directly under or tributary to the Maharaja of Kashmir, and it is through this important prince that we actually exercise our control over this region. It was by his troops, directed by British officers, that the successful campaign in Hunza-Nagar three years ago was carried out, and it is mainly by his troops that the military centre of Gilgit is garrisoned. Chitral and Hunza are both under his suzerainty, and his rule extends far away into Ladak to the inhospitable regions about the Karakoram Pass, and to the ice-bound passes of Baltistan. Tibet bounds his territories on the east, and Afghanistan on the west, while the Chinese press him on the north, and the Russians are now pushing down from the same direction.

It is fortunate for us that the present occupant of the throne of Kashmir is as loyal to us as the hearty co-operation he has given us in the work of controlling the frontier has shown him to be.

At his court a British Resident with an assistant is now permanently stationed. This Resident exercises a general supervision over the affairs of the state, though, of course, in purely internal matters which concern the people alone, he rarely makes any direct interference. It is more to external affairs that he directs his attention, and especially to the control of those states

subsidiary to the Maharaja, which lie beyond his immediate borders. For the effective control, both of his border and of these subsidiary states beyond it, it is of importance that the Maharaja should have an efficient army, and this he may now be certainly said to have. He has been lent the services of Colonel Neville Chamberlain and other British officers to reorganise and instruct it, and with the fine material of Dogras and Gurkhas which is at hand, battalions of infantry have now been turned out but little below our own native troops in point of efficiency. The change in the last few years is, indeed, something very remarkable. In 1889, when I passed through Gilgit, Colonel Durand, who had only just been appointed there as British Agent, took me to a parade of Kashmir troops. They were then a lot of old, badly-fed, badly-equipped, and badly-paid men. Now all the old weakly men have been weeded out, they are fed better, equipped better, and regularly paid. They are smart, keen, drill well, and, as has been proved in Hunza and Chilas, fight as well as any troops in India. This is the result of British and Kashmir officers working loyally together for a definite end.

It is not, however, only in military matters that British system and guidance are beneficially introduced into Kashmir. In their revenue affairs also assistance has been lent them by the Government of India, and for several years past Mr. Walter Lawrence has been steadily working out the settlement of Kashmir, going round the whole country to every single village in it, ascertaining the amount of cultivated and cultivable land pertaining to each village, the productiveness of the land, and the nature of the crops which may be grown on it, and then drawing up, for the consideration of the Maharaja and his Council, estimates of the amount of revenue which may fairly be asked from each village, so that the amount to be paid by the people may be fixed definitely, and the old system by which petty officials were able to squeeze all they could out of the unfortunate villagers, and so strangle the development of this rich and lovely country, be done away with once and for all.

There are of course, too, British officials engaged on public works, the construction of roads, the building of bridges, the laying down of a pure water supply to Srinagar, and other useful projects; but these two works of reorganising the army, and effecting a just revenue settlement of the country, are the main ones upon which the officers of the Government of India are employed at head quarters in Kashmir.

I now turn to the work going on in the extreme frontier. On the eastern half of the northern frontier is Ladak, a country of barren



mountains and sparse population, only approachable from the north by a series of passes of enormous height, three of which occurring in succession average over 18,000 feet above sea level. This portion of the frontier requires therefore little attention, but a political agent of the Government of India is stationed there to watch, in conjunction with a commissioner on behalf of the Kashmir Durbar, the course of trade with Chinese Turkestan, and to adjudicate in disputes among the traders. Westward of Ladak is Baltistan, girt in on the north by mountains and glaciers of such an extremely impracticable character, that only one European has ever crossed into or out of Baltistan by the north. Westward again of this we come to the states of Hunza, Nagar, and Chitral. Through these countries roads of importance pass, and a control over the peoples inhabiting them has become essential. Ladak and Baltistan were conquered by and directly administered by the rulers of Kashmir, and they are now integral parts of the Kashmir State. In Hunza, Nagar, and Chitral, though the two former have been actually conquered, the administration is still left in the hands of the native rulers, and merely a control of external affairs is exercised. Kashmir troops occupy Hunza-Nagar, and a British officer is permanently stationed there to superintend these two states. Similarly Kashmir troops are stationed in Chitral territory, and a British political officer, with an escort of a hundred of our own native troops, quartered there for the same purpose. And all these are under the orders of the principal political officer, called the British agent, who resides at Gilgit, which is the head quarters of the force of about 3,000 men stationed in this portion of the frontier.

This is the general plan; but it is the details of the work which is being carried on which I think will prove most interesting to you. All the tribes on this frontier are of a very primitive type. They have been shut up here for centuries, and have seen little of the outside world. They are naturally easy-going, but at the same time very impulsive when their feelings are once aroused. They are, in fact, a people in their childhood. Consequently, they have to be treated as children, and the most rudimentary lessons have to be taught them. Among these one of the first is the value and use of money, for at present they have but the faintest idea of what it really means. Amongst themselves they have practically no need of it, as they have but few wants, and if a man who has a sheep wants a coat he gives his neighbour the sheep for the coat. But few traders have yet penetrated to the country (except to the village of Chitral), and consequently the people, for the most part, do not



know what to do with money when they have got it. They have few opportunities of buying anything which they do not produce themselves, and when I passed through Hunza in 1889, two years before the campaign there, many of the people regarded the rupees I gave them as useful for the purpose of ornament—to hang round their necks or take out now and then to look at, but for any other purpose quite valueless. They therefore thought it the highest form of tyranny to be compelled to carry a load for twelve or fifteen miles over the hills, and only get a rupee at the end of the march. This state of things we naturally had to alter, for we require a considerable amount of work from the people. As I will show later on, we have to employ them in constructing roads and irrigation channels, and till the roads are completed we have to use them, too, a good deal for transport purposes. Up till now they have of course, by their own rulers, been forced to work without payment. If a road had to be repaired, a fort constructed, or an irrigation channel made, the people were compelled to turn out and do it. But we, it is needless to say, do not carry on this system. For the work they do we pay them. It is our object to get them to work willingly for us, but then comes the difficulty that when they only receive for their work a silver coin, which up till recently they have looked upon as little else than an ornament, they do not see the point of exerting themselves for so little. Consequently, to get them to work we have to teach them the value of money, and to do this to encourage traders to come into the country. Then as they get to see that for every rupee which they earn they can get three or four yards of cloth or some sugar or salt they become more ready to work. So we have found that in dealing with primitive people, and trying to raise them into life, the pursuit of wealth is, after all, one of the first and one of the most necessary things to teach them.

We do not want to teach them to hanker after rupees merely for the sake of hoarding them up. But we do wish to instil into them a good, wholesome discontent of their present condition of life—I speak of course on its purely material side—and a desire for something better than they already have. As soon as we can get the people to want good cloth, iron implements for their field-work, needles, cotton, candles or oil, and all the ordinary useful things of life; as soon as they begin to feel that these are necessities to them we shall have them wanting to work, to gain the wherewithal to acquire these things. And we always require their work. There need never, or at any rate for many years to come, be any “unemployed” on the Kashmir and Hindu Kush

frontier. There will always be plenty of work for the inhabitants, and what in fact is needed is still more inhabitants, for at present the troops on the frontier have to be supplied with food almost entirely from the valley of Kashmir, and so we are most anxious to increase the cultivated area in these frontier states. It is to our interest that as much land as possible should be cultivated. At present only a small proportion of the valley bottoms is under cultivation. Practically all the hillsides, and I suppose about three-quarters of even the valley bottoms, are bare. One of the principal reasons for this is that water cannot be brought on, and of course a great deal of the ground is simple rock, and never could be cultivated. But where good ground exists and water is at hand to bring on to it, we do what we can to assist the people in bringing the water to the land. We thus increase the amount of cultivation possible; more food-supply is then procurable on the spot, and less is required to be transported all the way from Kashmir, and while we gain the benefit the construction of these irrigation works acts advantageously for the people in two ways. In the first place, they earn money by working in their construction, and in the second place they have so much good land added to their country, and can earn yet more money by the cultivation of it. There is in fact nothing the people appreciate more than this irrigation work, and it will in time prove one of the greatest blessings to their country.

The other great work upon which we are engaged is the construction of roads. It would be difficult to make an audience here, in London, realise what the "roads" in these countries used to be before we came there, and what in places they still are. They were just wide enough for one animal to go by, and whenever they came to a difficult cliff—which was the case three or four times on every march—they would either zigzag up hundreds and sometimes thousands of feet to get over it; or else a sort of gallery would be made along its face upon which sometimes a pony could be got along, but as often as not would have to be swum round in the river, or be left behind. At one place there was an unbroken ascent of 7,000 feet to get round a cliff. The work of taking laden animals along roads of this description was, of course, extreme. In many cases it simply could not be done, and nothing but coolies could be used. Now, however, good mule roads are being constructed along all the principal valleys up to but not beyond the defensible positions. Along these roads it is possible to gallop the whole way. Officers frequently ride in fifty or sixty miles in the day from the outposts to Gilgit; and one officer, Captain Bretherton, rode through on the same pony from Gilgit to

Kashmir, a distance of 195 miles, across one pass 13,400 feet, and another 11,400 feet high, in five days. All this is an advantage to us, of course; it means that we can move and supply troops far more easily than we ever could before. But this, again, means a very distinct advantage to the people of the country.

Good roads by which they can get about from one village to another, and from one valley to another, without the hard marching they used formerly to have to go through; more certain irrigation over their old channels, and new irrigation ducts to lead water to land which was formerly dry; money coming into their pockets for the work done, and traders penetrating to these secluded regions to supply them with little comforts and necessities in exchange for the money they have gained; and lastly, but by no means least, the establishment, entirely at the cost of Government, of free hospitals and dispensaries where the sick and the maimed in every part of these regions may obtain medical and surgical treatment—these are advantages which I think they are slowly beginning to appreciate. The appreciation will not come all at once, for these simple people hate innovations, and look for a time with suspicion upon the most harmless object; but a great deal more has already been done than I had expected ever would be. When I first came through these countries five years ago, the people so fought against doing any work whatever—there was such difficulty in getting them to carry loads, even though they were paid well for doing so—that it seemed to me we never should be able to get them to regard us as anything else than tyrants forcing them to do what they disliked more than anything else—work. But the great schemes for the construction of roads and irrigation channels and the establishment of hospitals and dispensaries which Colonel Durand initiated are gradually revolutionising this feeling towards us. We do seem to come hard on the people of a new country at first. We come rather hard on Kashmir, and on these frontier states. The intrusion of an energetic, hard-working power into their midst must, of course, be at first a strain on people who have hitherto lived indolent lives; but the worst comes at the commencement, and I hope that on this the furthest limit our Empire is likely to attain to in the Kashmir direction, an era of progress for the people is slowly coming into being.

There are some Englishmen, however, who ask what is the use of our pushing out into all these remote parts, and interfering at all with these wild tribes. Well, most people must by this time have got to realise that even from a selfish point of view India is of value



to us, and of more use to us under British rule than under any other. If we look round the world I do not think that any other nation will be found who could develop the country so well as we have done; and the development of India means of course an enlarged market for the sale of our manufactures and a wider field from which to draw our raw material—and this in the end means an increased amount of bread-and-butter for our lowest classes. This point I need merely refer to. But having settled that India really is of use to us, those who are responsible for the government of the country have to decide how best to secure to ourselves leisure to carry on its peaceful development; and men who have studied the question most deeply have come to the conclusion that in order to guarantee quiet in the plains of India we must have a control over the mountains bordering on them. It would never do to sit quietly down in the plains, and run the risk of an invading force coming pouring on the top of us without any warning, in much the same way as the waters come down from these mountains in the rainy season, spreading destruction everywhere, and dangerous from their unexpectedness. We must go up to the source of these waters—go right into the mountains, and cope with these agents of destruction at their commencement.

It is, then, to secure peace for the plains that we enter the mountains, and though we did not go there primarily with any sentimental object of doing good for the inhabitants of them, still that is what, having gone there, we are actually engaged in doing, and this is what the *individuals* who carry out the work of Government feel most, and which is in fact the highest incentive to their work. The military officers become sincerely attached to the officers and men of the regiments which they have to instruct, and do their best to promote its efficiency as much and more for the love of the thing than for pure self-interest. Those engaged in the settlement work become almost obstructive in the way they stand up for the rights of the people. And the political officers take a real pride in watching the development of the states to which they are attached. So, although I cannot pretend to say that the people of the country invariably benefit from the infusion of British energy into their midst, yet on the whole it may be taken that apart from our own selfish good we are gradually benefiting all these people with whom we are brought in contact; and as long as we do not destroy their self-dependence and force ourselves too absolutely and permanently upon them, and thus weaken their character, I believe that the construction of good roads where formerly only



mountain tracks existed, the incentive to trade which both this and the increased agriculture which may be expected from a settled revenue will give, and the more thorough-going spirit which is being infused into the military administration, as well as other branches of the public service, will slowly wake these people from the lethargy in which they have so long lain, and that not only their country but their *character* will be developed.

Then I think that we may feel that not only are we doing good to ourselves—not only are we securing our position in India, and making certain of the advantage we already gain from it—but that we are doing good to these other people as well; and this, while certainly the most encouraging and stimulating feeling for those who have to carry out the work of Government with these people, is also the surest test that the work projected is sound, and likely to be permanent.

#### DISCUSSION.

MR. W. MARTIN CONWAY: I think it is peculiarly fortunate that this subject, about which such an interesting Paper has been read by my friend Captain Younghusband, should have been brought before this Society at the present time. We may say that just now the eyes of all Englishmen, who are aware that there is such a thing as a British Empire in the East, are focussed upon Chitral. Captain Younghusband has not referred—I presume, from his official position, could not refer—to the present problem which awaits solution at the hands of the Indian Government, in that remote corner of the Indian Empire. But though he is, perhaps, to be commiserated with on having lost the chance of being in the district he has made his own at a moment when interesting events are likely to occur, it is a matter of congratulation to us that an expert so able, a man—by the admission of all persons—so capable of understanding the difficulties and needs of the situation, should now be in London and able to advise the British Government—those upon whom lies the weight of coming to decisions at this time. There is no doubt that the danger of an attack upon Chitral has been foreseen for a long time. I presume there is no doubt we shall repel that attack and maintain the integrity of our frontier in that direction. It is, at all events, a matter of great good fortune that affairs in those parts—at Gilgit and beyond—should be in the hands of so able and so wise a man as Mr. Robertson, the well-known explorer of Kafiristan. Mr. Robertson may be trusted so to act as to bring matters to a successful issue. I speak of these countries, of course, as a mere

traveller. Captain Younghusband speaks of them as an expert, a man who has spent, you may say, years, not merely at Chitral and Hunza and Gilgit, but in the regions beyond—in the Pamirs, Turkestan, and Central Asia generally. Speaking of Baltistan, and referring to the great mountains that fringe that region on the north, he mentioned that they were so difficult of passage that only on one occasion had that range been crossed by a European. He modestly omitted to mention that that European was himself. A mere traveller like myself has no right to speak as an authority, but he may be forgiven for referring to the impressions he received upon his journey, the memory of which is pleasant to him, and may possibly be of interest to the readers of such articles or books as he may happen to produce. He can know nothing of the fundamental conditions of the country, nothing of the problems which confront those who are responsible for the Government. Hunza to me is chiefly the most wonderfully picturesque and most beautiful valley I have ever seen or heard tell of or seen pictured. Picture to yourselves a remote and secluded valley, with a bottom nearly flat, cut through only in the midst by a kind of cañon in which the river flows, but otherwise a broad, level-bottomed valley, extremely fertile, dotted over with fields and with mulberry trees, apricot trees and vines—a fertility of the most luxuriant description. That green floor spreads before you. On either hand, to the edge of the flat, rise extraordinarily precipitous and absolutely bare walls of rock, stretching up farther and farther to the remotest altitudes, and above there rises on the right a snowy peak, or rather a peak draped with cataracts of ice, whilst on the left is a most glorious and lofty mountain, likewise covered with glaciers. On the one hand you look up a continuous slope to a point over 22,000 feet high, and on the other hand to a point over 25,500. I believe there is no similar position in all the mountain regions of the world. And not only are these altitudes so great, and not only are the forms of the mountains so extraordinarily fine, but the steepness of the slopes on either side is such that an avalanche, which I saw start almost from the summit of the right-hand peak, poured down the entire length of its face, and with its dust almost reached the houses of the capital towns of Hunza. With the people of Hunza I had little to do, but I saw more of the Nagari. I had a considerable number of them with me on a month's journey, entirely over snow and ice. No doubt it was a very trying journey to them. Bearing in mind that it is the firm conviction and ancient faith of these people, as it is of all undeveloped mountain folk, that the regions of ice are the homes of dragons and devils and fairies of

the evil sort, and ghosts and fauna of that kind, you may imagine that a journey leading persistently day by day further and further into these regions was not one they either looked forward to or experienced with any great pleasure. Nevertheless, on the whole, they showed admirable temper, and once they had gone a considerable distance into the heart of the snowy regions, and no longer could see the mountains that look down on their homes, they accustomed themselves to their circumstances, and went forward with good will. In the evening, round the camp fires—these same men had been engaged in fighting the British troops but a few months before—they would draw aside their garments and point to a scar in leg or arm that represented a wound received in battle with our men. They would point to these wounds and laugh, as though such a thing was the best joke in the world. This, I think, says a good deal for the sporting character of the folk. It is said that this subject of the Indian frontier is not one that properly belongs to the class of subjects ordinarily treated before this audience. I confess when I first went into Kashmir and saw the wonderful fertility of the country and heard of its healthfulness and of its vast possibilities of development, it struck me with wonder that the English should have allowed that country to be practically closed to them as a region for British enterprise. It is true that Kashmir is under the influence, one might almost say the control, of the Indian Government, but no European is allowed to own a yard of land in that country, and so a region which might produce all manner of valuable crops, and be developed to an almost incredible extent, is literally shut off from British enterprise, though it forms part of the Empire. I could hope that the time may come when to discuss Kashmir before the Royal Colonial Institute will be to discuss a subject which properly comes within its purview.

MR. R. AHMAD: I should be obliged if Captain Younghusband would give us the financial condition of this country and also the expense that the Government of India incurs in regard to the stationing of troops there.

CAPTAIN YOUNGHUSBAND: I am afraid I cannot give Mr. Ahmad any details as to the financial part of the control of this frontier. I have no doubt if he will apply to the proper quarter he will obtain the information he desires. What we have to do mostly on the frontier is not connected with finance; we have to carry out the orders of the Government of India, and as to where the money comes from we have not much concern.



Mr. R. G. WEBSTER, M.P., also addressed the meeting.

Mr. E. R. P. MOON: It would, I think, be of interest to many of us if Captain Younghusband would kindly tell us something about the ethnographical character of the region of which he has given so interesting a description. He has referred to the Gurkhas, who, I believe, are in religion Buddhists, and he has referred to the Dogras. I seem to recollect that in days gone by there was a tradition that Alexander the Great located some of his veterans in what used to be called Kafiristan. I suppose the existence of the name implies that at some date, when the Mohammedans came there, they found in that region if not Hindoos, at all events some variety of Christians. I spoke about the ethnography. I also meant to ask what religions these people have, and how far do they work together and with our people. During the few months I was in India I was given to understand that the Gurkhas were about the only variety of native soldiers who really made friends with the British "Tommy Atkins," but it appears that the latter is not stationed in the regions treated of to-night, but only the officers, who, no doubt, have that tact and knowledge of character which would enable them to deal with different tribes. To some, our proceedings in this part of the world will appear more directly as creating a new market in the future for English goods, while others will feel more strongly that by strengthening this frontier we are consolidating our Indian Empire and promoting the cause of civilisation better than any other European power can.

Captain YOUNGHUSBAND: The question which Mr. Moon has raised is a somewhat large one, one which I hope to enter into in a lecture which I give to the Royal Geographical Society on the 25th of this month. Briefly, I may say that on this frontier there is a large number of different sorts of people. The Gurkhas are enlisted for soldiers; they are not really part of the inhabitants of the country, but of Nepal, considerably further south. The Dogras are inhabitants of the lower valleys, bordering on the plains, and they also are a soldierly race, enlisted in the army of Kashmir. The people of Hunza and Chitral are perfectly separate, and then we come to Kafiristan, to the east, which is divided between Chitral and Afghanistan. Mr. Moon has mentioned the tradition of the Greeks having left remains in these parts. Some men of Hunza were taken down to Calcutta by Mr. Robertson, and were measured and photographed by men who knew something about ethnography, and the latter were much struck by the resemblance of these Hunzas to the Greek type. Whether they are actual descendants



or not I cannot say ; at any rate, they are a very old and a very pure race, as are all these races on the Hindu Kush, because they have not to any great extent been in the way of those great floods of invasion which have poured into India. As regards religion, the Kafiristans are so-called not because they are Christians, but because they are not Mohammedans. They have a religion of their own, which is idol worship, and which has been very fully described by Mr. Robertson, who spent a year in the country at considerable risk to himself. The Chitralis, the Hunzas, and the inhabitants of the valley of Kashmir are Mohammedans—not very strict, and not so fanatical as the inhabitants of Afghanistan, and in the matter of drink some of them are certainly not so strict as they ought to be. However, this subject of the ethnography of the Hindoo Kush is too large a subject to do more than sketch on the present occasion.

Mr. AHMAD : Mr. Moon has referred to the Gurkhas. I believe the Mohammedans are as much in touch and in sympathy with the English people as any other class.

Captain YOUNGHUSBAND : As Mr. Conway has said, we fraternise extremely well with these people. We play polo and go out shooting with them, and I am sure you can hardly find a better lot of men than you find on this frontier.

The CHAIRMAN : After the very interesting lecture we have just heard—a lecture so lucid and plain—there is very little left for me to say. I have never, unfortunately, been in those parts, though I passed many years in the southern part of our Indian frontier. I think that the Government is very fortunate in having officers of the stamp of Captain Younghusband—men who, carrying their lives in their hands, penetrate beyond our borders and return with the most valuable information for the use of the State. I think you will acknowledge that the manner in which such officers carry out the civilising mission of England entitles them to every possible credit. I will now ask you to give a cordial vote of thanks to Captain Younghusband for his most valuable lecture on the Frontier of Kashmir.

In reply, Captain Younghusband expressed hope that those present would continue to take an interest in what was going on upon this important frontier.

A vote of thanks having, on the motion of the lecturer, been accorded to the Chairman, the meeting separated.

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An Afternoon Meeting was held in the Library of the Institute on Tuesday, March 26, 1895, when Mr. James Bonwick read a Paper on

## THE WRITING OF COLONIAL HISTORY.

SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G., in the Chair.

[ABSTRACT.]<sup>1</sup>

IT is a common saying that History largely needs to be re-written. Ancient historians are too often lacking in care and truth; yet the spirit of doubt may be indulged to excess. Ancient annals of all lands are more or less descriptive of the doings of their gods with man. Nature worship is one explanation of some narrations. The connection of astronomy, not ordinary astrology, will be found a means of interpreting others, since they may be but problems to illustrate zodiacal movements, or the display of fancy with the constellations. Instead of rejecting myths, we now seek opportunities of interpreting them.

Errors in History may arise from carelessness, the insertion of margin into text, or from wilful erasure, addition, or pure invention, especially in controversial days. In modern times, with the Press, we are occasionally accused of the subversion of simple truthfulness for the good of our party or cause.

Australian History is not without its myths; and it should be written after the style of Sharon Turner and Lecky, more than after that of Hume and Macaulay.

The reader of the Paper apologised for reference to his own productions on Colonial History, when it was to illustrate inspiring motive for writing. It was in 1841 when, in a Hobart Town studio, he saw portraits of Tasmanian aborigines, and heard from the aged artist a touching tale of their wrongs, that he resolved to gather materials for a History of the *Black War of Van Diemen's Land*, though nearly thirty years elapsed before his "Last of the Tasmanians" came out in London.

His "Geography for Australian Youth" was printed in Hobart as early as 1845, being followed by other educational works. An acquaintance, both in the island and on the Australian mainland, with men who had taken part in the early days of the Colonies, notably Port Phillip in 1803 and in 1835, led to the publication of

<sup>1</sup> A Copy of the Paper itself is preserved in the Library, and is always available for reference.

"Discovery and Settlement of Port Phillip," the larger and illustrated "Settlement of Port Phillip," "Life of John Batman," and "Buckley, the Wild White Man." These were followed by "First Twenty Years of Australia," "Western Victoria," "Western Australia," "Bushrangers of Van Diemen's Land," "Resources of Queensland," "The British Empire and its Resources," "Climate and Health in Australasia," "Early Struggles of the Australian Press," "Romance of the Wool Trade," &c.

The difficulties in the pursuit of information were shown in certain adventures. But an interesting list was given of persons who had afforded him news. Among these acquaintances were the founders of Congregationalism in New South Wales, Tasmania, Victoria, and Adelaide; the first authorised Catholic priest of Sydney, and the first of Melbourne; the founder of Presbyterianism in Sydney, of Methodism in Adelaide, of Baptists and *Friends* in Australia; former Protectors of Aborigines; men figuring in the *Black War* and the Settlement of Melbourne, primitive editors enduring Press penal laws; besides a number of Tasmanian aborigines, including the last of her race.

Not satisfied with what had been done in Colonial History, Mr. Bonwick tried to induce different Australian Governments to follow the noble precedent of Canada, and establish Record Offices in their capitals. Several partially responded, though New South Wales resolved to have an "Official History," and appointed him archivist to work up materials for it in this country.

Some volumes of history and records have already appeared from the Sydney Government Printing Department, though it was now resolved to be content, for awhile, with the collection of transcripts and the printing of a selection of such records. At this point the essayist criticised what had been printed or written about Captain Cook's voyage in the ship *Endeavour*. It is both instructive and astonishing to recognise the difficulty of learning the truth respecting the introduction of such commonly received names as *New South Wales* and *Botany Bay*, as well as of several circumstances detailed in the fanciful work by Dr. Hawkesworth, who received from Government so large a sum for the writing thereof in the name of Cook.

The notice of letters between Sir Joseph Banks and Consul Matra brought out the fact that Matra, in 1784, counselled Lord Sydney to establish a colony at Botany Bay for American loyalists dispossessed after the American War.

The different places in London where the archivist has to seek

for facts of history were then detailed, and especial reference was made to the Record Office, the British Museum, the Colonial Office Library, and other Departments of the Public Service, in addition to the archives of the several Missionary Institutions, and the Catholic Westminster archives at the Oratory.

Private letters, referring to early Australian leaders, as Governor Phillip, Dr. Bass, Captain Waterhouse, and others, were inspected; and grateful reference was made to Mr. Pownall of Russell Square, Lord Percy, and Lord Fitzmaurice for their courtesy with manuscripts. The kind attention of Museum officials, and of Mr. Hall of the Record Office, was also acknowledged.

Some curious stories were told of shameful negligence in the preservation of official documents here and in the Colonies.

London was praised as the Mecca of visiting Australians, who would find in it and its neighbourhood the graves and monuments of Governors Hunter, King, and Bligh; of Vancouver, the navigator; of Lord Sydney, and of the first preacher or chaplain in Australia.

It was intimated that the Secretary of the Institute would be happy to receive and preserve for historical reference any documents relative to early Colonial days in various parts of the Empire that might be in the possession of Colonists and others.

A discussion followed in which the following took part:—The Right Hon. Hugh C. E. Childers, F.R.S., Sir Saul Samuel, K.C.M.G., C.B., General Sir Andrew Clarke, G.C.M.G., C.B., C.I.E., Mr. E. A. Petherick and Mr. Matthew Macfie. Votes of thanks to the Reader of the Paper and the Chairman were passed.



## SIXTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Sixth Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, April 9, 1895, when the Right Rev. Allan Becher Webb, D.D., Bishop of Grahamstown, read a Paper on "Some Social Forces at Work in South Africa."

Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., a Vice-President of the Institute, presided.

The CHAIRMAN: I regret to have to announce that since our last meeting the Royal Colonial Institute has sustained a serious loss in the death of Sir Charles Mills. He had been a Fellow of the Institute since 1874 and a Councillor since 1883. The Council, who met this afternoon, expressed by resolution their deep regret at this sad and sudden event, and I am sure that every Fellow of this Institute will agree that they have lost a most useful and valued colleague.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 19 Fellows had been elected, viz., 5 Resident and 14 Non-Resident.

Resident Fellows:—

*Umberto Ciantar, James Carlton Eckersley, M.A., Gilbert D. Jennings, Arthur L. Pearse, Alderman Sir George R. Tyler, Bart.*

Non-Resident Fellows:—

*Douglas D. Barnes (British Guiana), John D. Burnie (Victoria), the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Columbia, D.D., John L. Couper (Natal), Lieut.-Colonel J. C. Gore (Sierra Leone), Colonel H. Gunter (Commandant Queensland Defence Force), Louis Joel (Transvaal), John I. Lowles (Western Australia), David MacLaren (Canada), J. Gordon McLaren (Western Australia), Thomas Hector Smith, M.D. (Transvaal), George F. Tatham, J.P. (Natal), Frederick E. Taylor (Jamaica), Thomas A. Walker (Natal).*

It was also announced that donations to the Library of books, maps, &c., had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies, and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN: We are honoured this evening by the presence of a distinguished prelate, the Bishop of Grahamstown, who has kindly undertaken, at the request of the Council, to read a Paper on a very interesting and important subject, viz., "Some Social Forces

at Work in South Africa." The Bishop is well known to everyone connected with the great Colony as well as in the old country, and I need not say that his long experience of, I believe, some twenty-five years, first at Bloemfontein as Missionary Bishop and for the last twelve years as Bishop of Grahamstown, has given him ample means of forming a correct opinion on it. I cannot forbear adding that I have peculiar pleasure in presiding upon this occasion, because it was my happy lot, when some five or six years ago I visited South Africa, to be the guest of the Lord Bishop at Grahamstown, and in that pretty and picturesque town which forms the centre of his diocese, I was received by him with the hospitality for which he is famous.

The Bishop of GRAHAMSTOWN: Before beginning my address I would ask to be allowed to express, as a Colonist, my real and sincere appreciation of the loss which our Colony has sustained by the death of Sir Charles Mills. Everybody who was brought into contact with him must have been impressed by his personality, his courtesy, his patience, and his ability. It is only a few weeks ago that he received me with a warmth with which a Colonist delights to be welcomed, and I need not say that when I learned he had passed from our midst I was inexpressibly shocked. His place will be very difficult to fill.

### SOME SOCIAL FORCES AT WORK IN SOUTH AFRICA.

ABOUT twenty years ago I happened to be in Pretoria when Mr. Burgers was installed as President of the Transvaal. Soon after his election to that office, at a very critical time of South African history, I remember hearing him say that among the thoughts burning in his heart was the purpose of "making the *Africander* a nation respected in the earth." By the "*Africander*" he meant his fellow-countrymen of European parentage born in the Colony, whether of Dutch or English extraction. The Colonial-born of English and Dutch descent tend to amalgamate, though slowly, and even when not intermixed have a natural fellow feeling, and a certain similarity as a result of common external influences. And those of us who have been born and bred in England, and for whom South Africa is only the land of our adoption, are quite conscious and not ashamed of being Colonial, without ceasing to be English.

But the term "*Africander*" is not wholly unobjectionable and

unambiguous as a designation of the ruling element in the people of South Africa, with which I ask leave to be identified. It is not always understood as referring to the European rather than to the native portion of the population, and is at a disadvantage when compared with the clearness of the term Australian, Canadian, and American as applied to the settlers and their descendants in those lands. Our fellow-countrymen in Natal would probably disown the appellation, as they would equally resent that of "Cape Colonist," which I find is the title generally bestowed upon us in England, as is that of "Dutch Boer" to the Dutch-speaking part of our community. I should personally prefer the term "South African." There is, however, no such thing as yet as a South African or Africander people or nation, but it is now in process of being formed. I propose to consider some of the elements and social forces which are now determining and moulding its character.

The Transvaal War undoubtedly had the effect, not achieved by President Burgers, of securing respect for the Dutch burgher, who startled and surprised the despisers of his race by his exhibition of courage, skill, and resolution. Just before that war took place he was held in small account, from both the political and military estimate, by many who little guessed the pluck and determination that was latent under a somewhat sluggish exterior. Not a few of the Boers, on their part, when the war was over, made the mistake of assuming a contempt of English power and prowess. Yet I well remember just after the war was concluded, when I was in a cart with tired horses, not far from Bloemfontein, meeting the Chairman of the Free State Volksraad, who drove me into the town, and, in a tone which was anything but blustering and aggressive, dwelt on the pity of the bloodshed, instead of on the triumph with which he would naturally sympathise. However, the young bloods, who were for a while extravagant and even insulting in their boasting, were brought to their bearings by the expedition of Sir Charles Warren, and the bold and yet conciliating policy of Mr. Rhodes. Mutual respect between the two chief races in the front of our South African civilisation is now established, and will not, I trust, be put to too severe a strain by the Dutch and Hollander party now in power in the Transvaal. Respect is the best foundation for happy social relations, and for progress side by side.

To those who know South Africa it may seem rather a large order that I should plead for an attitude of respect; not so much for an assumption of affection, which might look like affectation; but of genuine respect towards the weaker but far more numerous races

of our native people. It is the right relation with these which constitutes the great problem of our social and political life.

It cannot be denied that in many instances, though not in all, when they have to do with us on our farm and in our towns, the Kafir servants are in the last degree irritating and annoying; but employers seldom ask for characters or refer to missionaries and teachers for reliable information, and, in any case, we should be nowhere without them as far as our labour goes. And it must be remembered that as a race Kafirs are growing up to be, if they are not so already, men and not children.

One force silently operating upon our development is the nature of the country and the climate. The most favourable condition for the growth of character is said to be found when Nature is neither too easy and kind, as she is in the south of Europe, nor too severe and hard, as in Siberia and North America. As a matter of fact, we have every variety of climate and soil in South Africa, but as a whole it may be said with truth that one way or another Nature will respond if man will do his best; only it must be his very best, with outlay of energy and intelligence, and, when possible, of capital. On the other hand, I can quite understand the feeling that the country is too vast and overwhelming for man to grapple with cheerfully and hopefully. Its magnitude is too oppressive for man's littleness. It is a land of big plains, big droughts, big floods, and big swarms of locusts. All this produces a certain sense of helplessness, as before a hard, irresistible fate, and a consequent apathy and acquiescence in circumstances which might be bettered, and in evils which might be overcome. But it also helps to create a quiet patience and calmness, and a readiness to wait till better times come round. This is all to the good. Moreover, a certain alertness, if not feverishness and restlessness, has been generated by the discovery of great mineral wealth, gold and diamonds and coal, under apparently bare and almost worthless ground, where, according to former traditions of geologists, there ought to be none of these things. The most unpromising farm may have vast possibilities of wealth stored beneath an arid surface, and great surprises may burst upon a life of monotony and poverty. A mining engineer has lately stated that between the Vaal and Rhenoster rivers in the Free State a thousand million tons of coal are available in the future. A similar statement was made to me years ago by Mr. George Stowe, who had been surveying in that district. The commercial greatness of South Africa will be realised when populous centres, of which such supplies are prophetic, and for which native labour



in any quantity may be had, will stimulate agricultural industry in all the farms around. Boring for water with drills, supplied on easy terms to farmers by Government, has of late been largely adopted with good success, and this, with irrigation works, will do much to make another country of the dry and thirsty land, and to add that stimulus of hope to patience which the farmer so greatly needs if he is to do his best for himself and for the soil.

The spirit of hope has never wholly deserted the farmers, for the country has a wonderful power of recovery, even after a series of unfavourable seasons. The heat of the sun forbids continuous work through the day, and the languor of the hot seasons, together with old traditions of the slave-holding days, have, to a certain degree, inclined the young Afriander to despise and shirk manual labour, and leave it all to his Kafir servants. It is quite possible to work with them, as many of our farmers do, as well as their families, in the field or dairy, without loss of dignity or the respect due from them. Those who are not too lazy or ashamed to do so get the most work out of their coloured people, while those who will not dig or work in any shape or form are falling back into the company of the so-called "poor whites"—a class that is fast increasing and causing sore perplexity to our legislators and to the community at large. It cannot be denied that we are, to some extent, affected by the survival of ideas and associations from the time when labour was left to the slaves, and when it was thought that service could only be servile, and that men of the white race were born only to look on and to superintend as overseers, bailiffs, managers, and foremen.

It may be as well now to note the different streams of life, some of them more or less mingling together, others flowing on side by side in separate channels, but all to some extent reacting on one another. If we take another metaphor, the various strata of races constituting our social order may be compared to a pyramid, the great coloured population, Kafir and half-caste at the base, being first in order of time and largest in number; above that is the next stratum in order and number, the Dutch; and the English element comes in last and fewest as the apex. A certain amount of upheaval from below goes on, as well as filtering down from above.

1. To speak of the Kafir first. He is not generally at his best when he comes into contact with civilised man, whose vices he frequently adopts without the restraining and controlling influences of his religion. It is argued, not without reason, that the liberty

and equality secured for him politically under our laws are of small benefit to him unless he is made to accept the discipline of our ordered life, and that a gradual admission to the privileges of full citizenship would have been a much more considerate course. It must be remembered that these races are in a transition state, neither entirely barbarian nor fully civilised. This is neither an interesting or picturesque stage; but we have them with us and they are increasing and multiplying, and, though they cannot be admitted into the very heart of European life, there is growing up a sufficiently strong power of public opinion embodied in a Christian and civilised community of their own countrymen to support the better tendencies of their social life, and to counteract the old forces of barbarism and sensuality.

Formerly the Kafir of the new order and religion had to come apart and stand almost alone. European society would not receive him as one of themselves, save in very exceptional instances. Inter-marriage must be out of the question; whereas, in countries with only European races, there has always been a partial fusion between the conquering and conquered families. In South Africa there will be in the nature of things a dividing line between the white and the coloured races, but there may be, and ought to be, mutual respect and regard for the common interest. They are too often known to Europeans only as dwellers in our squalid town locations, away from their own homes and their own people. They are thought of as hewers of wood and drawers of water, and are, indeed, at first very awkward in the more technical departments of domestic service, and it is rather trying for a master or mistress, just when a servant has been trained to be efficient, to find the old nomad nature break out and demand a change at the most inconvenient crisis. It has been said that a Hindu coolie cooks better, a half-caste and a Mozambique drives better, and a West Indian negro does everything all round better, but for all that the Kafir is more of a man. Not a few instances have come within my personal experience in which he has exhibited both moral stamina and intellectual capacity. I am persuaded also that when manufactures are started Kafir men and women will be found to be good operatives. They are excellent at routine work under proper supervision. Some apprentices at our Kafir Institution in Grahamstown have executed some carving and tracery work for the Bishop's throne and chancel screen of our cathedral under the superintendence of a Scotch master carpenter in a truly admirable manner.

2. The half-caste element in the population cannot be ignored

in our estimate of the South African life material. In some parts of the country they touch us very closely in our households, as well as in other relations of life. They are generous and affectionate, but impulsive and emotional, lacking greatly in self-control and stability of purpose. They delight in living, when they can, a happy, laughing, irresponsible life. Nothing is of any vast importance; nothing matters very much but to bask in the sun, or to dance or sing. But they are loyal to those who care for their interests, and at times they are capable of utter devotion.

8. It is sometimes forgotten that in the Dutch element of our community there is a marked strain of French nature. Many of the names of our Dutch families bear traces of Huguenot descent. Beneath the somewhat heavy, unimpassioned exterior there are fires latent, as well as a good deal of dogged resolution deep down, which a crisis may reveal, to the astonishment of superficial observers. There are, no doubt, realities of Boer life and character which a picture such as that drawn by Olive Schreiner in the "Story of an African Farm," or comments by Max O'Rell, may be said to represent not unfairly; but I am bound to say that I have more often found them a patriarchal people, gentle and tender-hearted, sons of the men who fled to the wilderness to be free and at peace, and withal a good deal of humour and shrewdness. About the lives of some there is a sort of old-world beauty. On those long African journeys you come across a green spot in the veldt—a queer flat-roofed house, shabby out-buildings, and a garden with a mud wall round it, peach and apricot trees, a kraal for cattle, and a little nest of Kafir huts, and, perhaps, a graveyard—and you make for it. You are tired; so are your horses; so is your driver. You pull up at the door, and ask if you may "out-span," and the "baas" never says no. He helps you to unharness the horses, and he feeds them, and he takes you in to where his wife and daughters are standing, waiting to receive you in the big room of the house. You go up to each in turn, and they shake hands gravely, and bid you sit down. They make ready their best room for you, and share their food with you. If you come at sundown, you may just possibly now, though not so often as formerly, find the Boer reading out of a great brass-clasped Bible, which his forefathers brought from Holland three hundred years ago. I came in once for the quaint ceremony of handing the basin round to each guest, first for washing the face, then the hands, and, last of all, the feet. On the next day you pay for the food of your horses and go away. But this is an experience of some twenty years ago and



this primitive simplicity has given way, as you may find sometimes, to a poor emulation of not the best of modern ways which does not become them so well.

Needless to say that they are generous and hearty supporters of the Dutch Reformed Church, the ministers of which are now bringing their great influence to bear upon their flocks in the direction of inducing a desire for sound education, a sense of the dignity of labour, and a more Christian attitude towards the native people.

4. What are we to say about our own kith and kin as a social force ?

We have first the old Colonists, or rather their children and grandchildren, and then the new-comers whom we call the "home-born."

The climate, the surroundings, and perhaps the natural disposition have combined to give the Colonists a type of their own. They have a strong feeling of comradeship, and are given to hospitality. They are clannish, and, in their relations to one another, are like the members of a big family who have had to make their way in the world and have done so with good success. They have the good points belonging to such a family—generosity, pluck, and good temper. There is occasional energy and dash about them, but too often a lack of perseverance, undertakings and enterprises begun without the difficulties being reckoned upon. Yet, with all that, there is a sturdy John Bull doggedness, clinging to certain healthy traditions and prejudices, perhaps inherited from their forefathers. They are without strong enthusiasm, and it has been remarked that they bring with them on their visits to England a spirit of *nil admirari*, not being greatly astonished at anything, partly, perhaps, because the vastness of their own land is made the measure of most things; but there is a gentleness and kindliness of manner, though feuds and troubles are not unknown in our South African community, any more than they are in the old country or anywhere else in the world. There is often an impatience of monotony and dislike of discipline. The late Mr. Glanville hit upon a defect of ours when he spoke of our lack of reverence, partly owing to the fact that we have no venerable monuments of an historic past; all that we see around us is of yesterday, and of our own creation. It is too much the way to make the children arbiters of important questions, and judges of their schools and schoolmasters. The present Superintendent General of Education, too, has opportunely pointed out a long standing danger of a lack of thoroughness.

They are sensitive, but have great power of enduring pain and



discomfort. A young lady not long ago riding into Grahamstown from her farm broke her arm. Instead of turning back she rode the fifteen miles into town, went to the doctor, and, finding him out, did all her business and went back to him to have her arm set.

The ideals of life are at present somewhat strait and narrow. The boys, for whom it is increasingly difficult to find openings, naturally prefer to be farmers, if there is any prospect of possessing a farm. The free-and-easy life of a gentleman farmer—by no means easy, however, in actual experience, with its riding, hunting and shooting—is a life as healthy and attractive as any in the world, though at times somewhat lonely and isolated. But more money may be made in business, while the Civil Service offers a career of moderate competence and dignified respectability. The professions of law and medicine are securing all the recruits for whom there are likely to be successful openings, while recent developments in South Africa have enlisted many applicants for all possible vacancies which might be occupied by surveyors and mining engineers. The British Government has done wisely in offering annually a certain number of naval cadetships to our lads. With a wild seaboard and no navigable rivers a taste for sea life does not come naturally to our youth. Unfortunately—except in the Dutch Reformed Church, where the pastor is well cared for by his people—the clergy can only look forward to a bare subsistence, largely dependent upon the good will of the congregations to which they minister. A young man in our Church cannot be ordained until he is twenty-three, and for the furtherance of an education too costly for the generality of parents there is only one bursary of £40 a year, founded by Mr. W. Savage, available for all possible candidates. We have certainly one advantage over home traditions, that a man is valued, respected, and welcomed for what he is in himself, not for what he does, though I am bound to confess that in some parts of South Africa (not so much in our own neighbourhood, where we have not the wealth) there is a certain danger of money being the only measure of a man, and of amusement-seeking with money-getting constituting the whole duty of man and woman. A plutocracy would indeed be a poor exchange for an aristocracy which we entirely disown.

If, as Wellington said, the battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields at Eton, then we have no lack of embryo soldiers under training on our cricket and football fields. Devotion to athletics and sport of all kinds is a strong point in the boys of our South African schools, correcting the tendency towards loafing of an

enervating climate. With the memory of Kafir wars still fresh in the minds of even the youngest, volunteering is a serious business and a real preparation for being called to the front—a summons not once or twice in our history obeyed by our citizen-soldiers.

Our girls, as a rule, are married young, and plunged quite early into the anxiety and real difficulties of colonial housekeeping. The demand for trained nurses, the advanced standard of teaching put before them by ladies from England, and now required by Government, have suggested to others a career of high endeavour and active interest, as well as a means of livelihood. Let us follow one of our girls, perhaps well educated in one of our high schools, through a day on a farm. As usual in the country, there is early rising; the churning has to be done before the sun is hot, say at 5 or 6; butter will have to be sent to market once or twice a week at 4 A.M., probably a long distance in a Cape cart. Early coffee has been made at sunrise; breakfast follows at 7 or 8. The ladies help in the cooking, making pastry, cakes, &c., and in putting the rooms in order. Dressmaking and mending their own and their husbands' clothes will have to be done by them. The stores come out by waggons from the town; shopping is done there once a month on the day of the Stock Fair, at which the men sell their cattle and produce. In the afternoon, perhaps, after a short rest, there is sitting on the stoep, with a bit of dreaming, or reading, or talk. In the evening probably music, occasionally a dance, which lasts all night, because, there being mostly no sleeping accommodation for the guests, they have to wait for the dawn before they can "trek" off in their waggons and carts over the rough roads. On Sundays there is probably some service within riding distance, and the neighbours may look in afterwards. There is not much intellectual stimulus, but sometimes studies begun at school are carried on. It has been proved to be quite possible to combine high thinking with this plain living. Pianoforte playing, singing, or dancing, and needlework of all kinds form the chief variety of occupation.

The weekly paper, with its fairly good budget of English, colonial and local news, some popular novel of the day, and possibly some more thoughtful book make up the stock of literature. In the towns there are good libraries, with books of reference and of general literature, travels, history, biography, and of course, many volumes of fiction.

The home-born Englishman is also a not unimportant factor in the making of our country's future. He is representative of all classes and conditions of men, and he is with us for all sorts of

reasons ; it may be in search of health, or to find an opening in life, possibly for adventure, or to make a fresh start after a failure, or to pick up the tangled threads of a career just at the point when they seem most hopeless. He comes, indeed, occasionally with a vain expectation of making a living without struggle and toil, as if vacant posts were waiting all round for his acceptance, and sometimes with an air of superiority, with a tendency to be critical and fault-finding, which is tacitly resented. But he soon finds that if he is to get on he must put his hand to anything, and put up quietly with slow trains, jolting carts, and the general circumstances of a country that has not yet everywhere left the ox-waggon behind. Not seldom, however, the new-comer has brought from the old country a freshness, a bracing energy, and a spirit of enterprise without which South Africa would be the poorer, and which has left an abiding mark on our towns and farms, and on such centres as the Diamond-fields and Johannesburg. At the Diamond-fields, even in the early days, I have known of rough men, with rougher manners, after working in the mine all day with a nearly tropical sun blazing down, and the grit of the mine eating into the very soul, sit up half the night with a sick comrade, cooking beef-tea for him, shaking up his pillows, and wrapping the rugs about him with all a woman's tenderness. He would be chivalrous in his kindness to the weak, and down upon lying and bullying. Up and down the country and in the Cape Mounted Rifles I have come across types of English gentlemen who bring from home some of the backbone of character that we need. On the other hand, I have known of some who have drunk of the very dregs of human degradation, and dragged in the mire the fair fame and the credit of the English name. It seems a pity for us and for themselves that more men of capital do not come out, prepared to lay it out wisely and well, as is quite possible to do, not only in gold shares, but in the development of the country ; which is waiting everywhere for capital to be thoughtfully invested in order to give good returns. Politics chiefly turn on local and practical questions—*e.g.* railways, the liquor traffic and excise, extension in the north, and the last new scheme attributed to Mr. Rhodes. The habit of self-government is maintained throughout the country by a system of municipal and divisional councils, in the work of which most of the farmers and citizens are called upon to take some part.

One weak point in our social development is that the Colony is not generally regarded as a permanent home, especially by our wealthier merchants and successful business men. This is partly



owing to its nearness to England, as compared with the distance of Australia and New Zealand. One result of this is that the Colony itself has not largely become the recipient of munificent gifts and foundations, and, though there are a few notable exceptions, we can scarcely point to any school or church or cathedral or public institution associated with the name of an individual founder. Instead of identifying themselves and all their interests with the Colony, and finding their joy and their glory in creating the future, they return with their children and their money to the congested life of the old country, where probably in the next generation they will have to face the question, What are we to do with our sons and daughters?

We have already at various centres, especially in Grahamstown, schools of every grade for fashioning the coming generation; some of these would compare not unfavourably with the best in England, not only in the instruction given, but in the quickening influences on mind and character communicated by teachers of the highest tone and culture. Of the arts, music is probably the best appreciated and most thoroughly cultivated.

There is not much we can speak of as literature of native growth; for good or evil we are chiefly affected by the books and periodicals of English publication. Pringle's poems and Mrs. Olive Schreiner's "Story of a South African Farm" are perhaps our most original creations. The fugitive literature of our Colonial press—which is, as a whole, well up to the mark both in tone and ability, and, considering the limitation of our population, surprisingly cheap—with the books from our local libraries, supply the chief material for reading. As a matter of fact, we have few men of leisure who are able to be thoroughly independent of profession or business, and of local opinion and support. There is need, which time will supply, of a leisured class, who will have time for deeper thought, and introduce a more restful element into society than we can provide now.

So far as our language is concerned, the struggle lies between Dutch on the one hand—colloquial rather than pure and undefiled—and our own English tongue on the other. Politically they are on equal terms, but there is no manner of doubt as to which is the fitter to survive. But our South African English will retain an intonation of its own, and incorporate with itself not a few words from its sister tongue which we feel to be quite indispensable—e.g. *trek*, *stoep*, *sluit*, *spruit*, *veldt*, and of course *out-span* and *in-span*, and phrases such as the happy expression "*so long*," and the familiar word of dismissal to our dogs. We hope by-and-by to be content



simply to *begin* and not *commence*, and not to speak of "*commencing* to be wet when it *commences* to rain," and to *help* instead of "*assist-ing*" our guests to mutton chops, and to *take* instead of "*trying*" our eggs for breakfast. We run no risk of losing our aspirate, though we cut short our long vowels. There is just a little risk of our taking up our English as she is "spoke" the other side of the Tweed, as Scotland rather than England is applied to at present for the supply of most of our schoolmasters.

An indispensable element in the making of a great people is the recognition of high ideals. We are not a little indebted to Mr. Rhodes for having opened to us an extended field for imagination, as well as for practical enterprise. Mr. Rhodes may possibly have some of "the last infirmity of noble minds," but he is not a man of petty or personal ambitions. If he has made politics a means to an end, it is an imperial and not a low or selfish end. Nor do I believe that he is prepared to sacrifice the real interests of the Colony to the mere expansion of the Empire, though his aim may be—and surely it is one not unworthy of a statesman—to bring about a unity in interest, sentiment, and purpose throughout South Africa as a whole and its different States and people. Mr. Rhodes has distinctly carried South African politics beyond domestic and class legislation. Without the impulse of his genius and patriotism, South Africa would be very different in hope and anticipation from what it is to-day.

Though I say but little about it on this occasion, I am not likely to subordinate the influence of religion to any, even the most potent, factor in the making of our future. It is in the faith of its absolute necessity for the building up of the character of any noble people that I have spent nearly a quarter of a century of my life as a Bishop in South Africa. The gloomy forecast of Pearson in his book on "National Life and Character" would be justified in our coming history if the Kingdom of Heaven were not preached and accepted as a living force amongst us. We may regret that, politically, in our British Colonies the State is compelled to assume a neutral attitude in regard to faith and worship, but it would be a great mistake to infer from this that religion is not a controlling influence in our social and family life, or that society is being organised exclusively on a material basis. The truer philosophy of such a book as Kidd's "Social Evolution" must bring home to the thought and intellect, as well as to the feeling, of all who are charged with the inspiring mission of creating the future of our country the fact that if we are to be "a nation respected in the

earth" we must not forget that the real strength of a people is to fear and honour God.

The Christian Church, as we learn from Green's "Making of England," had much to do in the seventh century with the making of our England; and I have no hesitation in saying that amongst the truest patriots and most effective builders of our commonwealth must be reckoned those who have made it their duty and joy to keep the life of the nation in its growth open to the light shining from and about that "City which hath the foundations, and whose Builder and Maker is God."

#### DISCUSSION.

Sir SIDNEY SHIPPARD, K.C.M.G. : I am sure you will all agree that the Lord Bishop of Grahamstown was altogether too modest in his prefatory description of what has proved to be a brilliant and eloquent address. There are few men in South Africa better qualified than his Lordship to express an opinion on the subject with which he has so ably dealt to-night. There are only one or two points on which I would venture to offer any remarks. Some little time ago I had the honour and pleasure of a long conversation on the subject of South Africa and its future development with one of the ablest and most popular Governors who ever presided over its destinies, Sir George Grey, who explained to me his views with regard to the civilisation and development of the character of the people, and the objects he had in view in founding so many admirable institutions in different parts of the Colony. He told me that when he first went out, he had been appalled to notice there were so few agencies for raising the people intellectually, morally, and socially; that in the great struggle for a material existence in a new country the natural tendency was to be driven back to barbarism almost; and that there was a danger that the whole of the culture and refinement and elevated influences of the world would remain centred, as it were, in Europe. It was with the view of counteracting that tendency, and bringing the great influences of Europe to bear in the southern hemisphere, that he established libraries both in Australia and the Cape, and founded educational centres which even now are bearing such splendid fruit. I have been very much struck with the enormous results that have accrued from his efforts; and when I speak, as I am about to do, of what I consider to be the great want in South Africa, I should wish to be understood as not underrating what has already been done for education by Dr. Rose Innes and Sir Langham Dale, and by Dr. Muir, the

present head of the Education Department. But I do say there is a need for a still higher standard of education in South Africa, and I do not think that object can well be achieved until they have established there a teaching university on the model of Oxford and Cambridge. I will not say where that institution should be located, because that is a sore point, but there ought to be such a university—a teaching university as distinct from a mere examining body, such as the present, and extended to women on the Cambridge plan. If that were done, I believe that in a very short time a higher standard would be introduced, and the whole intellectual tone of the country would be levelled up. As for the people themselves, I cannot speak in too high terms of the Dutch community. I know that is not the general idea in England, but I say the people of England do not know them—they do not understand them. They are a splendid people, brave, clever, and determined; they have, in fact, every quality that goes to the making of a great people. One thing they want, and that is education. Give them that, and they will become a very fine people indeed. The more you do that, the more they will become assimilated with ourselves; the fewer differences there will be, and the more they will become amalgamated, so as to become one vast Empire with ourselves. That is the great object we should bear in mind with regard to the social and intellectual forces that are at work in South Africa. I myself am full of hope for the Dutch. Remember that their forefathers, many of them, were driven by persecution out of Europe; that they were at every possible disadvantage; that they had to fight for their lives against wild animals and savage tribes, and against the forces of Nature, and that they had to struggle hard to secure the means of existence. It is not wonderful that their descendants should have fallen back somewhat from European standards in many ways, especially intellectually and in regard to mental culture. There is one thing we ought always to try to bring about, and that is a better feeling between the English and the Dutch sections. It is much to be lamented that mistakes have occurred, politically and otherwise, which have brought about bad and bitter feelings. As time has gone on, that feeling has very much improved, and a good deal of the old bitterness has passed away. But we cannot be too careful to avoid anything that would increase the bitterness, and we cannot do too much to bring about a better state of feeling. In regard to the natives, I am strongly of opinion that missionary effort has done a great deal for them. In the country with which I have been concerned for the last ten years—



British Bechuanaland—there is a stringent law against supplying liquor to the natives. There is hardly any crime to speak of amongst them, and I attribute that mainly to the fact that we do not allow them any liquor. That is a law which, I think, ought to prevail throughout South Africa so far as the natives are concerned. I am not one of those who can pretend to regard the natives as in any way on an equality with ourselves. They are a people whom we have to teach, to teach them the dignity of labour. They supply us with a magnificent source of labour if we make the best of it, and my idea is that that is the best thing that can be done with them. Any idea of placing them, or imagining for a moment they can be placed, on an equality with ourselves, when they are, intellectually speaking, thousands of years behind us, is, to my mind, absurd. But I say they should be treated with humanity and justice, and that they are most useful in supplying us with labour, at any rate such labour as the white man can hardly perform in such a climate. In conclusion, I will only add that we are deeply indebted to the Lord Bishop for his very interesting lecture.

MR. R. R. DOBELL: My knowledge of South Africa is derived from a short trip that I made two winters ago—a trip so enjoyable that I would advise every one of you to make it. According to my experience, the Lord Bishop has given us a very truthful picture of social life in South Africa. I was pleased to hear Sir Sidney Shippard's remarks about the Boers, because I confess I came away with a different impression of them. There is another large population there of which I feel great pleasure in speaking—that is, the native population. Whatever you may say of them intellectually, they have one great characteristic, and that is manliness and perfect independence. The poorest Zulu walks like a king. I was invited at Pretoria to attend a sort of Sunday-school meeting held by the American missionary for the natives. They entered in the most reverent manner, each kneeling and praying, and they joined in the hymn most impressively. After a reading from the Old and the New Testaments, there was a sort of general discussion, and I was very much struck with the perfect independence of opinion each expressed. They appealed to me on certain matters, as, for instance, this—they pointed out that we white people claimed to be a superior people, and said, "You insist we shall walk in the middle of the road while you take the side; if you carried out the principles of your religion you would give us the side." Wherever I went my sympathy was with the Zulus. I took some little trouble to inquire, and I felt we had done them a grievous wrong, which the future, I



hope, will put right. I passed rapidly through the district of the gold-fields and the diamond mines, and I came away with the impression that South Africa is destined to become one of the wealthiest countries in the world. When asked on my return to this country by the Permanent Secretary to the Board of Trade what I thought would be the output of the gold, I stated that in the near future they would send us fifty millions annually. He said two experts had made an estimate for the British Government, after travelling over the land for twelve months, and their idea was that there was nothing to prevent South Africa sending to this country one hundred millions of gold. I thought there could be no better answer to those who advocate bimetallism. At any rate, here is a field that only wants British capital and energy for its development. In Capetown, Johannesburg, and Natal I advocated what I have long felt to be desirable—a great united trading Empire. There is our strength. Our effort should be to unite the Empire in one great close trading union as against the world, but to give the broadest reciprocal privileges to every country that will join with us. I believe South Africa is with us, and that Mr. Rhodes is heart and soul with us. When I went back to Canada I urged the Government to put the grappling irons on South Africa, because I felt she has what we want—the gold, and we have what she wants—timber and provisions. I only add that I am satisfied we have had a perfect photograph of South Africa from his Lordship.

MR. A. SAALFELD: As an old resident in South Africa, I recognise in the lecture to-night a really true picture of social life there. There is one little point on which I do not perhaps agree with the Lord Bishop, and that is about the wealthy men leaving Africa not to return. In the case of isolated millionaires this may be so, but my experience is that the Englishman, once settled in South Africa, may come home for a trip or even with the intention of staying here, but almost invariably the longing takes hold of him to go back to the Colony, which has a certain charm that cannot be dispelled. I find that over and over again. It would be most advantageous, no doubt, if the gifts of churches, chapels, hospitals, &c., were more numerous, but with the wealth South Africa is now producing I do not think that in years to come his Lordship will have to complain even on that point. I recognise the great advantage of unity of thought and friendship between the Boer and the English elements, and I believe that every year the old antagonism will grow less. As for the natives, the great education for them is to teach them to work. In that way they are most useful to the

white population, and in that way they will learn to live better lives than amidst the superstitions of their homes. The great curse is the drink. If he is not spoiled by copying the vices of the white man, where he learns to work and is treated with justice and at the same time with firmness—not as an equal, as in some parts, where he is told he is as good as a white man, if not better—the native is as noble a fellow as you could wish to find, and I quite agree that he walks and bears himself—particularly the Zulu—like a king.

General Sir WILLIAM G. CAMERON, K.C.B. : I came here rather late, and only to listen, and thought I had effectually hidden myself in this secluded spot until discovered by the Chairman and called upon for some remarks. You have had such a thoroughly good address from his Lordship the Bishop that there is little left for me to add. I agree *in toto* with all he has said. I confirm what he says with regard to the enormous amount of good that has been done by the clergy in South Africa. You would little understand how great is the toleration amongst all the religious communities and ministers there. It is marvellous how they all support each other—how much they do for each other's welfare. Of course, the drink question is a very serious matter. But before you can legislate on the drink question, it is very necessary to set a good example, and as long as there is this perpetual "pegging" amongst ourselves, as long as you cannot have a single bargain ratified without the drink, I am afraid legislation will not do very much good except perhaps as regards the natives. As regards ourselves, excessive drinking has gone out of fashion in this country, and fashion is very powerful in these matters. We must in South Africa endeavour to get out of this habit of perpetually pegging away from early morning till bedtime. As regards the natives, you see how happily they live at the diamond mines and other places where the compound system is introduced and where they are kept free from liquor. If you keep liquor from the native he is fifty times as happy as when he has access to it. To get more work out of him he must have far greater requirements than at present as regards food, clothing, and lodging, and this is a matter of time and education. With regard to our friends the Dutch, I cordially endorse all that his Lordship has said. They are a magnificent race, and I believe all that is required is, as he said, a higher education. I believe that at the present moment—at all events in Cape Colony, where there is not as much Jingoism as there is in the Transvaal amongst our people—in the Cape Colony there is a most excellent feeling between the Dutch and ourselves, and I believe that with a little

more intermarriage and a little more time we shall become one people, and an uncommonly fine people too. I have some of my greatest friends amongst the Dutch, and they are amongst the most honest, straightforward fellows I know. I hate the word Dutch, and try to avoid it. I am not sure I like Africander; at all events I hate to be always talking about "Dutch and English" in Cape Colony when we ought to be thoroughly one people, and if we avoid putting on these airs of superiority I do not think any two people can live side by side on more cordial terms. How could we have made South Africa if it had not been for the Dutch who trekked, covered the land, and made homes for themselves here, there, and everywhere? In Cape Colony at least, the Western Province, farming is carried on almost entirely by the Dutch. No doubt it is a primitive system, and the old Dutch farmer has been hitherto satisfied so long as he can live from hand to mouth and supply the wants of his family. South Africa only received a start when the gold and diamond mines were discovered. I think we have got on uncommonly fast, take all in all. I believe you have all the elements of success in South Africa. You want a little more industry, a little more enterprise, a little more perseverance. They are entering now on a system of keen competition, and directly you introduce the competition in agriculture and other industries you will get on tolerably fast. You could not have listened to a better lecture. I made it my business to travel about the country a good bit, and everything the Bishop has told you is perfectly true.

Col. J. S. YOUNG: I rise because the reading of the Paper of the Lord Bishop has stirred within me memories in regard to our Boer friends in the Transvaal. My connection with South Africa was in the troubled times of the Zulu campaign, when the Britisher was held in small esteem and the Boer regarded as a natural enemy. I am glad to think that in the roll of years a change has to some extent come over the relations between Britishers and Boers, and the words which fell in this connection from the Lord Bishop, echoed by the able Administrator of Bechuanaland, found in me a sympathetic accord. It was my lot to be brought in contact with General Joubert, commandant-general of the Boer forces, who it may be said at a momentous period in South African history somewhat lowered the pride of the Britisher. I was engaged in the army, but I had also a mission of humanity to perform as representing a Society which has a world-wide reputation, and which I think by its labours has done something to ameliorate the conditions of warfare in that it has made a common bond—that of humanity in the



interests of the wounded combatants—between opposing armies. I mean the Red Cross Society, the National Society for Aid to Sick and Wounded in War. It was my privilege, not for the first time, to represent that Society while I was engaged in the military expedition against the Zulus, and it was shortly afterwards my privilege to represent it in connection with the rebellion, as it was then called, of the Boers against the British. When I reached the foot of Majuba Hill, our forces were encamped in strength sufficient to have enforced the domination of Great Britain against any force that the Boers might have brought against us. There had, however, arisen at home in the powers that be a spirit which gave rise to a policy of magnanimity of feeling towards those who were our opponents, and whatever may be the opinion as regards the actual methods and results of that policy it gave me at any rate the opportunity of experiencing very practically the force of the old adage that “one touch of nature makes the whole world kin.” I felt that it was my duty in the event of hostilities being resumed to see that there should be some means of bringing to the Boers the understanding that whoever fell in the strife of war should be cared for in the common cause of humanity. Accordingly I sought an interview with General Joubert, who at that time was undoubtedly animated by feelings of hostility towards the British; but I am proud to say that, with the aid of a countryman of mine, Mr. Cameron, who was acting as press correspondent, and who has, alas! since fallen a victim to the bullet in the fruitless expedition to relieve Gordon in Khartoum, I pleaded the cause of humanity not in vain, and one of the most valued possessions I hold to-day is a pass from General Joubert permitting me, in the event of hostilities being resumed, to pass freely from the British into the Boer lines and back again, so that I might have the privilege of caring for the English who might fall into the hands of the Boers, and also the pleasure of seeing that the Boers who might fall into our hands should have the kindest treatment from us. If this little story has interested you its importance to-night lies only in the fact that what we are all looking forward to as the result of the development of South Africa I believe is this—that some day there may be a real United South Africa, and I do say to our fellow-countrymen who may have any prejudices against the Boers, and who may have some ideas of supremacy on the part of the Britisher, that a far greater idea at the present time is to encourage, by thought, word, and deed, the belief that the Empire which the Britisher represents and governs is one which can weld together peoples who at one time or



another may have been alien, and which teaches such that they can join together in one common bond for the advancement of civilisation.

The CHAIRMAN: I now beg to move that we give our best thanks to the Lord Bishop for his interesting and valuable address. Not the least of the value attaching to it is the discussion that has followed it. It was my good fortune some few years ago to have a glance at South Africa and to see something of the three groups of people who inhabit it. In travelling through the veldt for some weeks in a waggon, I saw a great deal of the Kafirs and was deeply interested in them. I saw them also at the important centres of Pretoria, Johannesburg, Durban, Port Elizabeth, and Capetown. I entirely agree with all that has been said with regard to that fine race, and the way in which they ought to be treated by us in our intercourse with them. At Pietermaritzburg I had the opportunity of speaking on the subject with the late Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who described them as being "a thousand years behind us" intellectually; it was therefore impossible to treat them as equals, but they should be treated as children would be treated by kind and indulgent parents. But they were a most interesting people, and many excellent qualities could be brought out in them if only they were firmly and properly managed. When I was staying at Durban I visited the interesting Trappist establishment at Pine Wood, where some three hundred Kafirs are being taught by the Roman Catholics the value of civilised arts, and I was astonished at the progress they had made under the skilful instruction given them, in the manufacture of carts, waggons, and almost all kinds of agricultural and other implements. In regard to the Boers, I saw a good deal of them also, and was treated most kindly and hospitably by them when I visited them in their houses and tents on the veldt. I formed very much the opinion of them that has already been expressed—viz., that, making due allowance for their peculiar position and the differences of their national character from our own, they have many good qualities in them which deserve recognition on our part. I may mention that I also had the pleasure of an interview with President Kruger. My reception took place at the unusual hour of two o'clock in the afternoon, and I am bound to say that, though he may not have received me quite in the fashion our illustrious President would have done, yet he extended to me a considerable degree of cordiality and courtesy. Perhaps this was in some degree due to the fact that I had the good fortune to secure an introduction to him from my excellent friend, the Chief Justice of the Transvaal

As to our own people a great deal has been done, but a great deal still remains to be done, in order to show to both races with whom we come in contact the advantages of British civilisation. One cannot fail to see many blots among our countrymen in travelling over that vast country; and more especially that perpetual and most vicious habit of drinking on all occasions, to which reference has been made. These matters require reform and amendment, which no doubt will come in due time. On the part of this meeting I now beg to tender to his Lordship our cordial thanks for his interesting and excellent Paper.

The Right Rev. the Bishop of GRAHAMSTOWN: No one is more conscious than I am of the many omissions in my address as to social elements now at work in South Africa. I have made no reference, for example, to the German element, or to the Hindoo coolies in Natal, and I did not say a word as to the real social help and benefit we receive from the representatives of Her Majesty and others in official positions. You know what influence such men as General Cameron and Sir Sidney Shippard must exercise as representing the British Government—amongst our Colonial as well as native population—the high tone, the sense of honour and courtesy that they help to diffuse. General Cameron has often addressed our youth very much to their advantage, and amongst other things has insisted on the immense importance to the coming generation of cultivating reverence and truthfulness. It is of the greatest possible benefit to have men of honour and integrity representing Her Majesty and the Government in our Colony. With regard to our friends who come home and spend money here rather than in South Africa—that, perhaps, is natural at present. It will, at any rate, have the good effect of binding us together, and making it felt at home that we are not foreigners and strangers—but fellow-citizens in deed and in truth, and sharers together in the fortunes of a great Empire, which is truly one. When we speak of England as home, it is an expression of loyalty to the great Mother Country, and does not mean any forfeiture of allegiance to the land of our adoption. I desire with all my heart that South Africa should be properly appreciated—that while there should be no exaggerated estimates entertained of the Colony it should be realised that it is to be a great country. Only for some time to come there will be need of much patience. We must wait for its true development on fair lines, and the result will be, I doubt not, our children's children will glory in the great privilege of belonging to an Empire of which this will not be the most inconsiderable part. I will now ask you to

tender a vote of thanks to our Chairman, who not only on this but on many occasions has extended the right hand of fellowship to us who come from the Colonies, and who himself has been to see what we are like in our own country.

The CHAIRMAN having responded, the proceedings terminated.

## SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING.

A SPECIAL General Meeting was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, on Tuesday, April 30, 1895, when the Hon. J. G. Ward delivered an address on "New Zealand in 1895."

Sir Westby B. Perceval, K.C.M.G., a Member of the Council of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 8 Fellows had been elected, viz., 1 Resident and 7 Non-Resident.

Resident Fellow :—

*Thomas George Sweet.*

Non-Resident Fellows :—

*Dr. Oswald J. Currie (Natal), Benjamin H. Darbyshire (Western Australia), Hon. J. Wilberforce Longley, Q.C., M.E.C. (Nova Scotia), Bertie C. Myers (Natal), Dr. John Scoble (Transvaal), F. Villeneuve Smith (New South Wales), Hon. Mr. Justice Matthew H. Stephen (New South Wales).*

It was also announced that donations to the Library of Books, Maps, &c., had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN : This, as you are aware, is a Special Meeting of the Institute, and we meet in these rooms because the Whitehall Rooms happen to be engaged this evening. The object of our meeting is to listen to an address from one whom you will welcome to-night—I mean Mr. Ward, Colonial Treasurer of New Zealand. In the great work of consolidating our Empire which we have so much at heart, I am satisfied that the constant interchange of visits between the Mother Country and the Colonies is one of the most important factors. We are pleased to see here to-night the Bishop of Salisbury, who has just returned from a visit to the Colonies. I notice that when visitors from the Colonies first arrive here they are frequently very despondent about the condition of things which prevails there ; but when they have been here a few months they begin to recognise that, bad as things are in the Colonies, they are no worse than the condition of things in other parts of the world. The epidemic of low prices is, I am sorry to say, a general one.



The keen competition which exists now between producing countries, and the improved and cheapened methods of transport, have reduced prices to a lower level than we have seen before. We shall be glad to hear from Mr. Ward what the present condition of the Colony is, and how New Zealand is equipped for keeping the place she has deservedly won as a great producing country.

### NEW ZEALAND IN 1895.

The Hon. J. G. WARD: I accepted the request of the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute that I should deliver an address to you to-night as an honour extended to the Colony to which I have the privilege to belong. At the same time, I would desire to say that, as my stay in this part of the world is somewhat limited, I have not been able to do that which I believe is usual, namely, prepare a paper on the subject on which I am about to address you. The title of the address is "New Zealand in 1895." I think you will agree with me that, for the purpose of arriving at an estimate of the position of the country, the best way is to proceed by way of comparison, and I will therefore ask you to take a glance at the history of New Zealand for the past fifty years. People in England, and in some other parts of the world, who have no direct interest in the Colony, are somewhat disposed, I think, to look at it through the wrong end of the telescope, and to see in New Zealand only an insignificant little spot on the map of the Southern hemisphere. Fifty years ago there were only a few struggling European settlements at several points on the coast of New Zealand. The country was mainly inhabited at that time by savage tribes, constantly at war with each other. The oldest inhabitants of the Colony well recollect the time when cannibal feasts were held within a short distance of what is to-day one of the most important cities of the Colony. Fifty years ago one chief, known as Honi Heke, defied the British power in those seas. Fifty years ago the country was a barren wilderness, save for the few scanty patches of native cultivation. Fifty years ago letters between Auckland and Wellington had to be sent round by way of Sydney, some 1,200 miles distant, and back again, at a cost of about one and eightpence a letter. It is only fifty-five years since Captain Hobson proclaimed the sovereignty of the Queen over the Islands of New Zealand. New Zealand, up to May 1841, when it was proclaimed a separate Colony, was administered from Sydney, N.S.W., then more familiarly known as Botany Bay. Since the

time to which I have alluded, what has taken place? The distinguished Bishop who is present this evening would probably tell you that, in travelling from one end of New Zealand to the other, you would find some difficulty in distinguishing between it and many of the older and more settled countries in the world. On all sides cultivation is to be seen; agricultural and pastoral operations being extended in a most remarkable manner. With a few gaps, there are railways from one end of the country to the other. We have the facilities for commerce that telegraphic and postal arrangements can give; and in that respect, saying nothing against your country, I think most people who visit New Zealand will tell you we are ahead of you. Let me for one moment direct attention to the matter of area. The combined area of the North and of the Middle Island, with their adjacent islets, is 102,933 square miles, or 65,915,000 acres. In addition to these there are the Chathams, Auckland Islands, and others, making the total area 104,471 square miles. The whole area is a little more than one-seventh less than the area of Great Britain and Ireland. The Middle Island of New Zealand alone, more commonly called by those not familiar with the geographical position, the South Island, is a little larger than the combined areas of England and Wales. To-day the population of the Colony stands at 678,000 whites, and about 50,000 natives, making a total of some 728,000 persons. The population has not increased so rapidly as most of us would have wished during the last fifteen or twenty years; but, considering the facilities now existing for transport, I think that in the future we may look with a great deal of hope to a vast expansion in the settlement of the country. New Zealand has 4,330 miles of coast line, and one of the complaints made regarding the Colony is that we have too many harbours. That, I think, is an excellent fault, one, indeed, which we in the Colonies believe to be one of our great sources of strength. Not having any large concentration of people at any one point, but having them spread over various parts of the country, it is, I think, a material advantage that we should have such a number of good harbours. The income of New Zealand is between twenty-seven and twenty-eight millions, of which £12,915,000 is derived from agricultural, pastoral, and mining produce. These are our mainstays; it is to these great industries that we look for our chief development in the future, as we have had to depend upon them in the past. According to Mr. Mulhall, the eminent statistician, the average earnings per inhabitant of Australia are £40 2s. 0d., Australia standing in this respect at the head of

the nations of the world. A great deal has been said about the tendency to drive capital out of New Zealand. Let us see what was the position in 1893; I am unable to bring the figures later. At that date the deposits in the New Zealand Banks amounted to £14,500,000 and the assets to £18,300,000, while the liabilities were £15,500,000. There has been a steady increase year by year of the deposits as compared with previous years. The savings of the masses of the people are generally deposited in the Post Office Savings Banks, and at that date I find they amounted to £3,241,000; therefore we had practically eighteen millions of money on deposit in the Colony at the date named. The development of the agricultural resources of the Colony is exceedingly interesting. The holdings number close on 44,000, covering an area of some 20,000,000 acres, and of that area nearly twelve and a half millions is freehold. I have found since I have been in England there are some people who appear to think that freeholds do not exist in New Zealand at all; but these figures give you a fair indication of what the system in the past has been, and will help you to realise the correct position in this respect. The number of persons engaged in agricultural and pastoral pursuits is some 69,000, and the total area under crops, including sown grasses, amounts to 10,063,000 acres. In 1893 the value of the manufactures of the Colony, manufactures absolutely produced in the Colony, amounted to £9,442,000. The wages paid amounted to £2,208,000, and the value of the materials operated upon was £3,471,000. The number of hands employed in connection with these manufactures was 29,000. Now, those figures give you some indication of the change that has been going on during the past fifty years in what was practically a barren and uninhabited country. We believe we have here all the elements on which the prosperity of a Colony can be founded, and on which a nation absolutely independent within itself can be created. I do not wish to be misunderstood. In New Zealand, if in any place in the world, there is a large majority of the population of all classes who are wedded to the association with this great Empire, and who believe that their future prosperity is dependent to a large degree upon their being connected with England, and their being under the British flag. I would mention here that fifty years ago Christianity in New Zealand was represented by the presence of a few missionaries pursuing their sacred calling in isolated places. As indicating what has gone on since, I may tell you that to-day New Zealand has 1,200 churches and chapels, 241 school-houses used for public worship, and 161 dwellings or public buildings used for the same



purpose. In educational matters some people say we are endeavouring to do too much. Our position in this respect is this: that of both sexes 77·25 per cent. can read and write, only 3·93 read alone, and 18·77 per cent. could not read; and without saying anything detrimental to those who come to the Colony, I believe that those chiefly who are unable to read or write are not really Colonists at all—I mean were not born in the Colony. I think I may claim that in the young Colony of New Zealand we have a system of education which enables anyone and everyone to go through the whole standards, from the Primary school to the High school, and emerge quite fit to engage in the battle of life as highly educated people. On the establishment and maintenance of her defences during a period of ten years (1884 to 1894) New Zealand has expended a sum of £1,232,000; and to show that New Zealand is desirous of keeping in touch with the British Empire so far as this matter is concerned, I may mention that she has in addition provided £25,000 a year towards the maintenance of the Colonial fleet sent out by this country. I pass on to an interesting social matter—I mean the drinking habits of the community. I think I read not long ago that a gentleman had visited the Colony, and on his return to England, had somewhat unfairly written them down as excessive drinkers. I entirely differ from this writer. While there are some people in the country, as in all parts of the world, who enjoy a glass, and probably some who drink to excess, the statistics show that the Colonists are anything but an excessive drinking community. The percentage of consumption per head of beer and spirits in New Zealand stands eleventh in the list of countries, coming after Switzerland, and New Zealand is sixteenth in the consumption per head of tobacco, below France. In view of the active movement now going on in all parts of the world, I may tell you that we have had a Local Option system there for many years. We provided by legislation that, under certain conditions, the people could prohibit the use of alcohol if they so desired, and speaking as one who has endeavoured to take an intelligent view of the position, I should say that Local Option meets the whole of the requirements, and that Prohibition has not worked so well, so far as New Zealand is concerned. The resources and the wealth of New Zealand may be indicated by a reference to our exports of minerals. Of gold alone we have sent out of the country over £49,000,000 sterling, and of silver and other minerals close on £12,000,000, making an aggregate, including kauri gum, of about £62,000,000 up to the end of 1893. The average total wealth of New Zealand, as estimated for several years



at the end of 1894, was £153,524,000, and the Public Debt of the Colony (I wish you to mark the difference between the average total wealth and the Public Debt) was at the same date £39,826,000. The value of private land with improvements was £96,066,000; livestock, £15,299,000; shipping, £1,591,000; railways, £15,137,000; furniture and household goods, close on £9,000,000; machinery and plant, £5,200,000; coin and bullion in banks, £4,800,000; mines and sundries, £7,000,000, making a total of £155,000,000. There are people who will tell you that that country, having an indebtedness of some £39,000,000, is an overburdened community. They forget the very important fact that our railways earn over 8 per cent., and represent £15,000,000 of our total indebtedness. They do not recollect either that some £10,000,000 has been expended for war purposes, money which I do not think has been thrown away by any means; for it has been the means by which vast territories in the North Island have been opened for the use of Europeans. When you review our position, I say that you should, in fairness to the people and the country, take the earning power of the assets and wealth per head of the community, and you will find that only this great country of Great Britain stands ahead. The wealth per head of the United Kingdom is £247 per head, and of New Zealand the wealth per head in 1893 was £232. When we find some of these speeches and statements made by pessimists, of a country which, even under the most terrible mismanagement, could not be kept back, I would ask every impartial person who wants to judge of the Colony to consider the statistics I have given, and review the position for himself, and he will see that this country has attached to it in New Zealand one of the most powerful Colonies in the southern seas. Going beyond New Zealand, and referring to the Australian Colonies, I would say that we look upon them as practically part and parcel of ourselves. They are separated only by some 1,200 miles of water, and many matters of vital importance to them are of equal interest to us. We believe the development of Australia must, in the ordinary course of things, be of considerable service to us, and that, equally, the development of New Zealand must be of advantage to Australia. I would just refer to the Australian Colonies in their trade relationships so far as this country is concerned. The population of Australia and New Zealand at the end of 1893 was 4,110,000. The imports of those countries at that date amounted to £53,000,000, and the exports to £65,000,000; being an excess of exports over imports of £13,000,000.

It is very important that all who have an interest in Australia and New Zealand should realise what these figures mean. They

mean that the earning powers of these combined countries out of the resources of the soil exceed the imports to this extent. Anyone who would take a pessimistic view as to the Australian Colonies emerging from the recent crisis can, I think, have but little idea of the vastness of those resources; and speaking as one who has gone through this crisis, I unhesitatingly say that in a few years you will find that these great Colonies—judging not, of course, by the boom period—will be in a sounder and better position than ever before. I would specially refer to the position of the Australian Colonies in their trade with the British Empire. They take the third place in importance after British India and Ceylon, and the United States, as consumers of British produce. Now, India has a population of 290,000,000, and America a population of 90,000,000, whereas Australia has a population of only a little over 4,000,000. When you have great Colonies such as these, I would ask you to realise the vast importance of the people, not only here, but in the Colonies generally, acting together, and co-operating with a view of still further developing the trade of the Empire. There is, unfortunately for the Colonies, at any rate, a tendency to see our trade go to other parts; and the only way of grappling with the difficulties to which I allude is by responsible statesmen here and in the Colonies realising that, if they want to see the trade of this Empire continue to be built up, they must not allow foreign competitors to be placed in a better position than the merchants of this country. If Great Britain is desirous of what I may term renewing her youth constantly, of becoming perennially young and vigorous, I would suggest a reference to history by those who take an active interest in the development of this great Empire. What do you find? We find that Egypt, Assyria, Greece, Rome, Carthage, grew old and decayed, and we find that Spain and Holland fell from their pride of place among the nations in later times. Will anyone tell me that if these countries had at their back the resources that this country has in her Colonies, perennially infusing fresh life into her, it is too much to say that some of them, at any rate, would not have decayed as they did? It is, therefore, in my opinion, of vital importance that the widening of the streams of commerce should not be overlooked by responsible statesmen; and I take it that the statesmen of the Colonies are very much alive to the position, and recognise how important it is that they should co-operate. This is not a mere matter of sentiment, but is based upon what I may term a very active factor in all matters of life—mutual self-interest. It is mutual self-interest which we in the Colonies believe is moving us to try and get people on

this side to assist us, because we want the assistance of the people in Great Britain to enable us to push forward the Colonies in the direction to which I refer. It may be of interest to you to hear something concerning our social legislation. I would refer first to what is looked upon as an exceedingly progressive measure, a very radical measure, and which some think was rather an insane measure—I mean the conferring of the franchise on women, which, in my opinion, is a very excellent thing. There were some who believed that the women of the Colony would not take what is called a cool, calm and deliberate view of the political situation when the critical time arrived. As one who had the pleasure of being there when the elections took place, all I can say is that those who imagined that the women were going to be carried away by anyone who placed before them views which were not at any rate sensible made a great mistake. They exercised their judgment independently; and as to what some people predicted as being likely to occur, namely, scenes at the polling booths, why, if there was one thing more than another which tended to make the elections go off smoothly and respectably, it was the presence of women at the polling booths. Looking at the experiment as tried in New Zealand, I, for one, not only do not regret it, but am very glad that the franchise has been conferred upon the women of the country. You may depend upon it that men who do anything very bad will not be returned if the women, at any rate, can keep them out. I do not say there would be excessive fastidiousness applied in this direction; but they would exercise ordinary intelligence, and see that good men were elected. You have had in this country recently a great strike—the boot strike. One of the radical measures which New Zealand in 1895 possesses, and which at the time was generally condemned as undesirable, is a measure dealing with trade disputes. If you had had the same legislation, the boot strike would not have lasted twenty-four hours. This measure is not framed, as some people suppose, in the interests of workers only. It is framed in the interests of employers as well. The Council, which is a body with statutory powers, is composed of one representative of the Labour Unions, and the employers of labour have also the privilege of returning one member. The Governor and Council of the Colony then step in, and say who is to be the third person to sit on the Board; the Governor in Council from time to time appointing a Judge of the Supreme Court, who is President of the Board. There are provisions which make it mandatory on the part of those who have serious grievances to place them before the Board, and abide by their decision. In the



dispute to which I have referred, had the same radical measure been in existence here, instead of strife and loss you would have had a peaceful solution of the difficulty immediately. Men on both sides of politics all over the world are, I believe, fast recognising the importance of providing some such machinery for the purpose of preventing these unfortunate struggles. As one who is desirous of preventing strikes, and is anxious that, when disputes do take place, they should receive a speedy and equitable settlement, I am of opinion that this is a most excellent measure, and one which we are glad to have on our Statute Book. Had it been in existence a few years ago, it would have saved the colonists large sums of money. In a young country there must necessarily be diversities of opinion as compared with older countries that have continued for long ages to be satisfied with the same legislation. But in New Zealand there has been of late years a complete revolution, not only in the relations between capital and labour, but in almost everything you can name. That is characteristic of a young country which is trying to arrive at a foremost position. We have in many things followed the Old World, and in many respects the Older World is following us. That I take to be evidence of the probability of the Colony not having done so much out of the way in endeavouring to solve some of these important social questions. As to our Factory Law, there is a vast amount of misapprehension. When it was originally proposed in the Colony, there were many who looked with a good deal of doubt upon that measure. But the result is, we know, that the younger portion of the community in the Colony have upon them the protecting eye of a disinterested person to see that they are not in their earlier years doing that which may be permanently harmful. It is provided that the sanitary arrangements and the cleanliness of the factories must be beyond all question. I take it that there are few who will doubt that, if difficulties of this kind are to be prevented, the time to take action is before a congested population settles down. Generally, I may say that with all the laws in the country bearing on social matters I do not agree; but with many of them I do agree, and upon the whole I say that if New Zealand has made any mistakes at all so far as social legislation is concerned, they have been in the direction, not as is sometimes supposed of a desire on the part of the Government and the people to break down, but with a desire to prevent abuses, and make the position of the people happier and better than in former times. If mistakes have been made, then the people in the ordinary way will be able to undo them. I do not know whether



the taxation system of New Zealand would be of interest to you or not, but I might just endeavour to explain the position at the present time of what is known as the Land and Income Assessments Act, and the difference between that and the original system, the Property Tax. There are of course in the country at the present time many people who believe that the original system was the right one to continue. Whether under the former system the majority of the people, who, in the ordinary course of things, should have invested their money in enterprises, withheld it; whether accident, or fortune has favoured the change, I am not going to express an opinion; but it is beyond all question that subsequent to the change in the incidence of taxation, a revival for the better took place. It may or may not be that that would have taken place in the ordinary course of events. The cardinal principle of taxation in the Colony is that people should pay in proportion to their means. The system of graduated taxation was brought into operation chiefly with a view to reach those who held large tracts of country, which in a young Colony is not a good thing for the majority, and to ensure that there should be no idle holdings, or enormous areas of land held for purely speculative purposes. The people believed close settlement was essential to enable the country to be prosperous, and the idea of such a tax was to cause the cutting up of some estates in the Colony which were not being used in the way it was originally believed they would be used. The amount raised under this system is £350,000; it is divided into land tax and income tax, and there are many who confound the two systems, which are as distinct as possible. It is provided that all improvements are exempt, so far as land is concerned, from this system of taxation; and the produce of land is exempt from the income tax. The effect has been to relieve those who are producers from having their efforts to produce from the soil taxed, and the way in which this has worked out is as follows: there are 94,000 land holders in the Colony, and only 12,000 pay land tax. Those who say the system is unfair argue that the taxation should be spread over the whole 94,000; but they overlook the fact that, while the taxation of the Colony touches the 12,000, the great majority of the others pay under the income tax system. This is a material point, on which there has been a good deal of misunderstanding. As a matter of fact, I am prepared to admit that there are strong arguments used by those who oppose the system; but there are equally strong, and, to my mind, more convincing, arguments in favour of the system. The desire in the Colony is to have our land settled, and not, as was the case formerly,

have many hundreds of thousands of acres lying idle. As a case in point, I would refer to one estate, purchased under this system of taxation to which I have alluded. But here I would say that a statement which has been made that the desire of the Colony is to confiscate land is not substantiated by what has taken place. The estate to which I refer is the Cheviot Estate. When that estate was purchased by the Taxing Department, there were eighty people upon it. As the result of the purchase, there are now engaged upon it close on seven hundred people. Some, of course, are engaged in making roads; but there is a township there; the people have stocked the land and made homesteads upon it; and when I left the Colony there was some £100 of interest only unpaid by those on the land. If you conceive that in New Zealand our whole being and existence is chiefly to be looked for in the land settlement of the country, I think you will admit that when great estates, covering in some instances many hundreds of thousands of acres—to say nothing against those who hold them—and used for the mere purpose of running sheep, can without injury to the owners be cut up and used for closer settlement, it must, in the ordinary course of things, conduce to the general prosperity of the country. That has been the cardinal principle in stating that from time to time private estates will be purchased. The Government never fix the actual value upon which the tax is levied. This estate was not confiscated; it was the request of the owners in the first instance that the Taxing Department should either reduce the amount of the valuation or take over the estate, and as the result of several valuations, it was finally found to be impossible to conform to the ideas of the owners. The estate was then taken over, and cut up in the way I have indicated. But for the graduated system of taxation, this particular estate would never have been handed over at all. There are some who will argue that the estate should not have been handed over; but the bulk of the people believe that it is not conducive to the general interests of a Colony such as ours, which is a very fertile country, and in which people upon small areas can make an excellent living for themselves, that it is not conducive to the general interests that huge estates should remain as they were. This system was originally brought into operation with the primary idea of making the land contribute its fair quota of taxation. When I tell you that the Customs revenue amounts to £1,600,000, and the total amount of revenue derived from land and income tax in the Colony is under £380,000, you will see that, even in the aggregate, the taxation under this head is not by any means such a heavy burden as is sometimes represented.

At any rate, I wish to tell you this : the Ministry of the country have never said to any man that he must hand over his estate at a particular price to the Government. The idea does exist in the minds of some people that under pressure or force this can be done by the Government. I tell you in this nineteenth century no Government in our country could attempt to do such a thing. If they attempted to force people to hand over what belongs to them against their better judgment, and at prices not satisfactory to them, no Government would be able to continue in office in New Zealand, democratic as it is said to be, for very long. From whatever point of view one may look at New Zealand at the present time, I think any impartial man must admit that it has got to a position which at any rate is most commendable. It was on the edge of a terrible crisis a short time ago, a crisis which was sweeping over the Australian continent, only a few hundred miles away, and doing an immense amount of damage. Side by side the Colony of New Zealand under great difficulties passed through that ordeal without any serious injury. It is quite true that one of the financial institutions of the country was put into a strong position by the Government in order to prevent financial disaster overtaking the Colony. The wonder was to those on the spot that the financial crisis did not sweep over New Zealand and do an immense amount of harm. We saw that it would be a great calamity if it reached New Zealand, and that there was no knowing what the outcome would be ; and under a sense of responsibility, we took upon ourselves to see that this most important financial institution, whose ramifications extended throughout the country, should not be allowed to be the cause of bringing about a great financial panic. We argued that, if the whole amount which we conceived to be essential was absolutely lost, it would still be an excellent stroke of policy on the part of the country. We did it, and I am happy to be able to say, as the result of close investigation, that, instead of the amount being likely to be lost, every sixpence will be saved. Had the panic come to our shores, a great deal of the progress which has taken place in the last fifty years would have been undone, and the Colony thrown back for many years. We have at the present time in the Colony a healthy commercial state. It is true that the price of our staple products runs low ; but that applies to the civilised world. But as against that what do we find ? We find that in this young country owing to the fertility of its soil, the excellence of its climate, and the vigour and determination of the settlers, the expansion of the exports nearly equals the depreciation so far as price is concerned. We find further that, owing to the pluck and energy of the people,

the Colony last year sent away £9,000,000 of exports, based upon the lowest possible valuations by the Custom House, and standing alone, she has emerged from the severe crisis to which I have referred. In conclusion, I would say I am a Colonist. I recognise this very important fact, that my people were not originally colonists, but came from this country. Do not suppose we who are colonists have not a feeling of affection, and more than affection, for England. We endeavour, in furthering the interests of our country, to do what we believe to be best; but those who have an idea that our desire is to pull down, and to break up and smash things, should come out and converse with people who have some stake in the country. You will always find in every country a few people ready to say that, until you get rid of the Government, the country will never be prosperous. That is to be expected, and I suppose will go on till the end of time. A Government is supposed to have neither body nor soul, and if you can satisfy yourself by putting all the blame on the Government, the Government must not complain. I thank you most kindly for the patience with which you have listened to what must be necessarily somewhat dry remarks. My hope and fervent wish is that, at the end of the next fifty years, the results of our efforts may be as tangible and sound as they are at the end of the first fifty; and depend upon it, that, as the community of interest between the Colonies and the Mother Country comes to be more and more recognised, the fabric of one of the greatest empires the world has ever seen will become so strong that nothing will be able to rend it.

#### DISCUSSION.

The Rt. Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY: I was two months in New Zealand, or a little more, and that, of course, does not give me a right to speak except as an outsider. A very sympathetic outsider, I hope you will believe me to be, but of course I cannot speak with anything like the authority of the gentleman whom you have heard. I can, however, confirm with very strong conviction indeed, a great deal of what he has said. The population of New Zealand is, I suppose, more homogeneous than that of any of our Colonies—that is to say, it consists of a mixture of English, Scotch, and Irish, with very few other nationalities, except a few Scandinavians, and perhaps a few Slavs of different kinds, and a few Chinese. There is a Maori population of between forty and fifty thousand, which I am afraid is rather a decreasing population. I hope that element will not entirely disappear, because I believe that these



people are capable of taking a very proper place in such a community as we hope to see established in New Zealand. The Maoris, I may venture to say, have never been conquered, and they know it. They do not regard themselves as a people who are oppressed, except that they make complaints sometimes of bad faith in bargains about land and the like. Unfortunately, they do not always know how to make the best use of their money, and they often waste it. But I think we should all wish they should remain and gradually be incorporated in the community. With that exception, the composition of the population is, as I have said, very homogeneous, and they are an excellent mixture, the English being, I suppose, about sixty per cent., the Irish about thirteen, and the Scotch represent the rest. That gives life in New Zealand a great charm to an Englishman; he finds himself at once among people whose habits and modes of thought he can calculate; he does not find a mere cosmopolitan medley of people, but a people who are his own flesh and blood, his own cousins in fact. These people are extraordinarily well educated, and the Colonial Treasurer has not said a word too much in regard to the intellectual results of the system of education. The money spent on education has been very well spent, and I can honestly say that in none of the Colonies I visited did I find a more intelligent people. It is a great pleasure to travel there, and talk with your neighbour in the train, or in their houses. Wherever you go, you find people more intelligent, I think, on the average, than in England. You can hold conversations with them, and be quite certain they will be able to follow any train of argument you may suggest, and to enter into any considerations put before them, even though they have not been habitual to them. What Mr. Ward said about female suffrage, is, I think, probably true as regards New Zealand, though I do not think myself it would be true as regards other countries. I will explain. The women there are very domestic and very contented, they make very good wives and mothers, and there is very little factory or lodger population. Before they had female suffrage, there was manhood suffrage, and a great many tramps and others had votes. I am quite convinced that women of over twenty-one years of age, living at home, will quite as well use their votes as many of the men. I do not think, then, that the gift of female suffrage is a very dangerous measure in New Zealand at present. I should not like to see it introduced in England, but I do not think the conditions of life here are really the same. The object of the present Government in New Zealand, as, perhaps, of most Governments which are likely

to be found there from time to time (they change rather rapidly), seems to be to make it a very comfortable country for the poor man to live in, but as much as possible to discourage the accumulation of wealth. Whether that is a proper object for a Government to aim at I do not entirely know, but I believe I am not doing any wrong in saying that is the case. At any rate, that is the impression I got—that generally they thought wealth was rather a wicked thing for an individual to possess, and that it was desirable to have as many small landowners as possible, and make the country consist of a number of small farmers. There is a great deal to be said for the latter object, though I should like to see the class of country gentlemen more encouraged. If anyone, then, chooses to go to New Zealand with that in his mind, with a full consciousness that any attempt on his part to accumulate great wealth will be discouraged as much as possible by law, but that he will also be encouraged to make a competency, and that everything will be done to help him in that direction, he will do well to emigrate if he has got a good head and a strong pair of hands—if he does not mind harnessing his own horses, and his own wife and daughters waiting at his table. The expense of keeping servants is so high that about one-third the number of servants is kept in a household that would be kept in England, and the ordinary thing is for colonists to do for themselves, as far as they can, what probably you would get servants to do for you in England. I am sufficiently democratic in spirit rather to like that, and I confess I enjoyed it. I should be quite willing to live that sort of life, but you must be prepared for that if you go there. You will find hired men will want eight shillings a day, and very soon you will be tired of employing people at that rate. The consequence is, there are a considerable number of unemployed, whom the Government, I think, try to employ in the making of roads, &c. That is my impression. But I do say, if you are of a democratic turn of mind, as I am myself—that is to say, of a democratic spirit; I do not care about democratic legislation—if you are a handy man, and can shift for yourself, and want to live a comfortable life, where anyone taking up any honest employment is not in the least degraded in public opinion (which is a very strong and noble point about New Zealand, everyone being respected for what he is, and not for what he does), if, I say, you don't mind these things, you will find yourself very happy there. It is, I think, a noble country; it is certainly a most beautiful country, a most healthy country, a most civilised country, a country where you will meet with courtesy, refinement, gentleness, kindliness, and a high standard of morality,

wherever you may go. I have the highest and warmest recollection of my visit. I should like very strongly to emphasise my agreement with nearly all the Colonial Treasurer has said. One or two points I might mention. I am perfectly certain what he said with regard to drink is true, and that in no country have I ever seen less evidence of drunkenness. There are cases, of course, very sad cases; some I came across privately; but I would remind you that there people know more of one another than they do here, and these sad cases probably make a deeper impression. Another point I should like to ask about is the Land for Settlement Act. Mr. Ward said that there were no cases of land being taken compulsorily. But is there not enabling legislation that would allow land to be taken from a man, providing his neighbours thought he had not been using it properly, and that it would be more to the public advantage to settle it? I do not say that cannot be defended; there is a good deal to be said for it. I had a long and interesting conversation with the Prime Minister on this subject, and I gathered that there was a possibility of freehold land being taken away compulsorily. Of course the price would be settled by arbitration, but the land would be taken without the will of the party holding it, who would, however, be allowed to keep one thousand acres of the best land.

Mr. C. PHARAZYN: The natural hesitation I have in addressing you after the able speeches we have heard is increased somewhat by the fact that I have been described by Mr. Ward—unintentionally, no doubt—as a savage; for he tells us that fifty years ago there were nothing but savages in New Zealand. Now I was there fifty-four years ago. Thus I have spent nearly the whole of my life there. When Mr. Ward was born, I must have been working a sheep-run of my own. We have also on the platform our Agent-General, who, I believe, was also born in New Zealand. It is to me a matter of satisfaction that we should be able to produce men who are capable of taking these positions with credit to themselves and advantage to the Colony, positions which, at one time, it was assumed nobody but the old hands could worthily fill. It is no easy task to follow men such as formerly occupied these posts—men like Fitzherbert, Vogel, Bell, and Atkinson and Balance. Yet we have in Mr. Ward a Colonial Treasurer, and, judging by ordinary standards, a successful one, for he has a substantial surplus; and it is quite unnecessary for me to say one word in praise of our Agent-General. I thoroughly agree with all Mr. Ward has told you as to the great advantages the Colony has. It is a country rich in many ways. Mr. Ward has referred to pessimists. I think he will agree with

me that the great fault of the Colony has not been pessimism, but just the reverse. There has been too much of a tendency to speculate, to "boom," and that is what has done so much harm. The tendency has been to unduly discount the future; to think that values would always keep up; and thus men who ought to have been successful have found the whole of their fortunes disappear. I believe we are now going through a period of liquidation and readjustment of values, an unpleasant process for many, but a healthy one; and when we get through it, the Colony will be as sound as possible. The only thing I deprecate, which I do in the strongest way, is any attempt to revive that old way of "booming" things. If we were unfortunately to get a Government which went on that principle and raised large loans, that same spirit would set in again. At present, the tendency appears to be in the reverse direction, and they see the necessity not of timidity, but of caution, which is a sound principle. All our products show a fall in value. It has been a steady process, and if we go on incurring liabilities, they will sit the more heavily on us and take a larger proportion of our products to pay them off. I cannot attempt to follow Mr. Ward through all his remarks at this late hour. Of course, with regard to the Socialist programme, there are great differences of opinion. We all live and learn. Some of us, perhaps, may have got to what is called the "old fogey" stage, and not believe in any new thing. I do not feel like that myself, but so far as I can judge, I think the Colony is on very dangerous ground in reference to these Socialistic experiments. At the same time, I fully admit the right of the people to try them, and I have never quarrelled with them for it. The Government in office may be considered as accurately representing the will of the people, and, no doubt, that will is to try these experiments. In my opinion, as I think the lessons of history show, the result will be very largely the reverse of that which is intended—that is, they will make the struggle on the part of the poor and struggling classes greater, and tend to increase the opportunities of the wealthy classes. In his short visit to the Colony, the Bishop of Salisbury, if he will pardon me for correcting him, has, I think, hardly gathered what are the facts. My belief is that, at the present moment, the man with enterprise and money has just the opportunities he wants in the Colony. The poor man has very little opportunity. That is my opinion. I speak not without knowledge, and I would not hesitate to recommend anyone with enterprise and capital to go out there. We try these experiments, and if they fail we shall undo them. The worst evil is that a con-



siderable amount of individual hardship may be produced in the meantime. If my view is looked upon as slightly pessimistic, I would, on the other hand, express my firm conviction that the future of the Colonies is a very great one indeed. They are going to help the old country tremendously. All we want is a thorough recognition of the importance of doing all we can to work together, and of removing all barriers to trade, at the same time promoting the means of intercourse. There is plenty of scope for us to send everything you can want, and for you to send to us enormous quantities of your productions. That is the true principle of trade. Looking forward another fifty years, I feel satisfied the progress of the world as a whole is going to be marvellous, and the progress of the Colonies, perhaps, more marvellous than any. There are those who think that everything has come to an end—that we have got to the top of our prosperity. To my mind, we are only beginning. Just now, maybe, we are taking a rest, but presently there will be a tremendous development. Strange as it may sound to some, I believe one of the great forces in that direction is the enormous amount of discontent there is. I believe the more England comes into touch with the Colonies, the more every man will find there is scope for him, if not in England, yet in the Colonies. It is curious, by the way, that there is no term to express the idea, in one word, of a member of the British Empire—the proudest title any man can have. I firmly believe we are coming to a time when, as I have said, there will be not only great material prosperity, but such a real federation of thought as will make war impossible through the moral influence of the English-speaking peoples as a whole; and who can have any doubt as to the effect that must have in increasing the prosperity of this great Empire?

MISS MAY YATES: Having just spent a few most enjoyable months touring in New Zealand, I would ask permission to corroborate everything Mr. Ward has said as to the great resources of that wonderful Colony. I venture to disagree with the Bishop in his remark that you cannot expect all the refinements of modern civilisation in New Zealand. My experience showed that you get everything you require. I have the greatest admiration for the wonderful capacities of the women—their all-round ability for doing all kinds of domestic work, and yet they are graced with all modern accomplishments. With regard to servants being so expensive, I was told they could be obtained at the same wages as in England; I feel sure anybody going to New Zealand could obtain the advantages we can have here. It seems to me there are the most wonder-

ful openings for all the capital that can be employed, and I feel certain that when the great resources of these wonderful Colonies are realised, patriotic English capitalists, instead of pouring their treasure into Argentina and other foreign countries, will help their own kith and kin, and thus obtain better financial results and also reap the higher wealth of affection and loyal devotion so strikingly illustrated when the Colonial volunteers showed the world the Mother Country was not alone but surrounded by stalwart sons ready to defend her with their lives.

Sir FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G.: I would not like this interesting meeting to close without saying how much pleasure I, too, have felt in listening to the admirable address delivered by the Colonial Treasurer. Mr. Pharazyn has told us that his first acquaintance with New Zealand was made fifty-four years ago. I go beyond that even. My first acquaintance with the Colony was fifty-six years ago. In 1839 I was a humble worker with the great founder of New Zealand, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, in endeavouring to promote colonisation in that Colony, which has proved to be such a bright gem in the British Crown. I remember very well the roseate pictures which in those early days we used to hear of what the ultimate results of New Zealand colonisation would be; and what those results actually have been, you have heard this evening from one of the greatest authorities on the subject. It is indeed wonderful to think what has been accomplished, and there are some of us, no doubt, who think that in the next fifty years the advancement of the Colony will be as great if not greater than I remember before. It was said in those early days that New Zealand was to become the Britain of the South, and I think the fifty years under review have shown the prediction was not far wrong. There are, of course, great difficulties in connection with the development of a country of that kind. Many experiments are being tried in social and political legislation, and we may be glad they are being tried in such a country as New Zealand. If they succeed, we shall imitate them, and if they fail we shall still have the advantage of the result of them not being at our cost in this country. I could not help saying these few words to show how deep my own interest has always been in the fortunes of New Zealand from the days of its first colonisation.

Major-General E. C. SIM: Having spent, lately, four months in Australia and some two months in New Zealand, I would say, as the result of my observations, that I look upon New Zealand as the Japan of the south. The configuration of the two countries is not

at all dissimilar. I think the progress of New Zealand during the last thirty years has been something wonderful. I was in Australia in 1857; New Zealand had then emerged from the first Maori war, and was settling down after Sir George Grey's first wise administration. Before I left, in 1862, the second war broke out, and, of course, threw New Zealand back again. I think the advancement of New Zealand may be regarded as dating from about that time. The provincial governments were hardly a success, and New Zealand is an example of Colonial federation. I hope to see the federation of the whole of the Australian Colonies. New Zealand is, I think, on a different footing. I have happened to travel by Samoa and Fiji, and I should like to see an island federation as well as an Australian federation. Whether these ideas come within the range of practical politics I do not know. I think Mr. Ward is a wonderful example of a Colonial statesman. I found in New Zealand many who differed from him and many who agreed with him. I may say I was present at the last general election. It was a most interesting experiment. In Christchurch, the ladies—nine-tenths of them—were dragging their husbands to the poll. I quite agree with the Bishop of Salisbury that New Zealand is a lovely country. Its climate, moreover, is English, and the hospitality one receives from the residents is—I speak more particularly of Dunedin, Christchurch, and Auckland—simply unbounded.

Mr. J. F. HOGAN, M.P.: Most of my life has been spent on the neighbouring continent of Australia, but I cherish very agreeable recollections of vacation tours in New Zealand. It seems to me that Mr. Ward has not sufficiently emphasised a very important, and still largely unrealised, asset of the Colony in which he holds high office. I allude to its magnificent and variegated scenery. I cannot help thinking that New Zealand would be much more largely frequented by tourists of all nationalities if its glories of mountain, river, lake, and flood, were better and more widely known. I was very pleased to hear Mr. Ward pronounce himself as strongly in favour of New Zealand joining the Australasian Dominion, which, I hope and believe, is about to dawn upon us. I trust, on his return to New Zealand, he will forcibly impress his views in this respect on his brother statesmen, for, if my memory serves me, I think I am right in saying that, at the Federal Conference in Sydney, the representatives of New Zealand sounded a somewhat hesitating and not altogether satisfactory note. Personally, I cannot conceive a successful and permanent federation of our Antipodean Colonies with New Zealand already out of the combina-

tion. I also hope that New Zealand will cordially co-operate with her sister Australasian Colonies in promoting the movement for closer commercial and fraternal relations with our Canadian cousins—a movement that is destined to have important and far-reaching results. New Zealand enjoys a great advantage in having practically four capitals—Wellington, Auckland, Christchurch, and Dunedin—and it has thus escaped the lamentable consequences of that unnatural and dangerous centralisation which, on the neighbouring Australian continent, has drawn the life blood of the country into abnormally populous and unhealthily bloated cities like Melbourne and Sydney. It would be premature to pronounce any decided opinion on the interesting and adventurous experiments in progressive socialistic legislation that New Zealand is making. Some years must necessarily elapse before they could be judged by their fruits, but Mr. Ward is entitled to our best thanks for the lucid and informing description he has given of them as well as for so successfully dissipating a number of delusions about his Colony that have become prevalent in the old world.

The Bishop of SALISBURY : May I refer to two misconceptions of my remarks? Mr. Pharazyn, whose name I had heard, and whom I am glad to meet, seemed to think I suggested that the poor man—the absolutely poor man—was very much more likely to succeed than the man with capital. I meant the man with moderate capital, who did not expect to make that moderate capital into a very large one. As to a big capitalist, I suppose he can get on anywhere, but I don't suppose he can get on in New Zealand as well as in many other places. With regard to the lady (Miss Yates), I said I believed that nothing could be pleasanter than the life of a lady in New Zealand, and none could be pleasanter to talk with, but I am quite sure the servants' wages are higher there than here, and if a lady wished to be comfortable she would not keep so many servants there as she does here.

Mr. F. H. DANGAR : I hope I did not misunderstand Mr. Ward when he referred to New South Wales being known as Botany Bay, which is an old exploded name, and associated with the early convict days of the Colony. It was, if I remember correctly, about the year 1849, that a ship named the *Hashemy* arrived at Sydney from England with a large number of convicts, the people were determined they should not be landed there, and the public feeling was so strong about it that the ship was sent to Western Australia, and we had no more convicts from that day to this.

The CHAIRMAN ; I will now ask you to join with me in a cordial



vote of thanks to Mr. Ward for his lecture. I do not think he needed to apologise for having given us an address instead of a written lecture, because I am quite sure his spirited and lucid statement was much more interesting than any paper. Perhaps, although the point is not one of absorbing interest, I may be allowed to say a word with reference to the little difference of opinion between the Bishop and the lady as to the cost of servants in the Colony. Probably the wages of domestic servants are higher in the Colony than here, but undoubtedly servants do more work than they do here, and a less number are therefore required. My experience in this country is that every servant, if she is a really good servant, expects an under servant to wait upon her. That is a condition of things that does not exist in the Colony. In regard to the wages of men, I think the Bishop is a little high in stating that eight shillings a day is the wage now paid to labourers in the Colony. They may demand it, but I fear they do not get it. I now ask you to carry the vote of thanks by acclamation.

MR. WARD : I wish very cordially to thank you for your kindness. Perhaps you will permit me to say one or two words by way of reply. In the first place, I have to thank Mr. Pharazyn for his kind allusions to the Chairman and myself. It is exceedingly gratifying to have the high opinion of a gentleman occupying his position, the more so as, if there were people in the Colony who in the past have believed they have had an actual grievance against the administration of the day, Mr. Pharazyn is probably one of them. That being so, I thank him heartily for his kind words. It is curious to find two gentlemen—the Bishop who has been to the Colony recently, and Mr. Pharazyn—holding different opinions on one very important point. The one believes that to New Zealand the man with capital ought not to go if he expects to do very much good with it. The other, who has had the experience of a lifetime, expresses an opposite opinion—an opinion in which I am bound to say I absolutely concur—that is, that there is no country in the world at the present moment that offers such opportunities as New Zealand does to a man with means. Then as to the question of servants' wages. The wages paid to servants are not sufficiently attractive to keep them in the position of servants any longer than they can help. The experience of every wife is that it is difficult to keep servants—unless they don't happen to be blest with ordinary looks—because they marry and settle down. That the average wages are beyond what is paid here is beyond question. It shows that the people can afford to pay better, and I for one am not sorry

for it. I would like to set the Bishop right about the Land for Settlement Act. I did not say that under the Act land could not be taken. The statements have been made that the Government were disposed to force property from people whether they liked it or not. That never has been done in the country, and I think it never will be done. I would remind you that under the law the Government have no say as to the valuation of the land taken, the owner of the land having in the first place the right of fixing the value and in the event of dispute independent valuers are called in. I have been asked two questions—first, is the Maori population increasing by reason of intermarriage? It had for many years diminished, but latterly statistics show that that decrease has been arrested. Whether that state of things is permanent or not it is difficult to say. At one time numbers of natives died chiefly as the result of leading improper lives. The next question is—Does not the large number of harbours prevent any possibility of a total blockade in case of war? That is one of the glorious institutions we have not yet had experience of. When war does come New Zealand, with the aid of the Mother Country, will be prepared to do what she can to defend herself, and if the numbers of our harbours are going to be a detriment I would remind you that it means the scattering of the vessels which visit us. We have tried to prepare the way at our principal ports for defensive purposes. Whether we have got them in an efficient state or not is a question. I now beg to propose a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman.

The motion was passed, and the meeting then separated.

## APPENDIX.

*Table of Statistics showing the Progress of the Colony.*

POPULATION.					SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.				
Years.					Years.				£
1854	.	.	.	88,554	1858	.	.	.	7,862
1867	.	.	.	260,668	1868	.	.	.	243,615
1878	.	.	.	456,412	1878	.	.	.	1,043,204
1888	.	.	.	649,380	1887	.	.	.	2,407,776
1894	.	.	.	728,221	1893	.	.	.	3,241,998

PUBLIC REVENUE.					POSTAL.				
Years.				£	Years.				Letters.
1853	.	.	.	146,855	1858	.	.	254,605	228,251
1858	.	.	.	341,125	1867	.	.	2,408,331	2,402,909
1867	.	.	.	1,787,314	1878	.	.	8,236,062	7,288,699
1878	.	.	.	4,167,889	1886	.	.	19,896,448	18,188,144
1888	.	.	.	3,859,000	1893	.	.	27,650,272	27,132,287
1894	.	.	.	4,368,537					

Table of Statistics showing the Progress of the Colony.—cont.

Newspapers.		
Years.	Received.	Despatched.
1858 . .	346,603	337,745
1867 . .	1,670,520	1,390,368
1878 . .	5,097,907	4,312,459
1886 . .	7,479,209	6,844,838
1893 . .	10,699,299	8,856,731

Telegraphs.		
Years.	Miles of Line.	Number of Messages.
1866 . .	699	27,407
1871 . .	1,976	312,874
1874 . .	2,530	752,899
1882 . .	3,974	1,570,189
1887 . .	4,646	1,835,394
1893 . .	5,513	2,069,691

EXPORTS (of all descriptions).		
Years.	£	
1841 . . . . .	17,717	
1851 . . . . .	84,160	
1858 . . . . .	458,023	
1861 . . . . .	1,370,247	
1874 . . . . .	5,251,269	
1881 . . . . .	6,060,866	
1888 . . . . .	7,767,325	
1894 . . . . .	9,239,277	

IMPORTS (of all descriptions).		
Years.	£	
1841 . . . . .	13,358	
1851 . . . . .	349,540	
1858 . . . . .	1,141,273	
1861 . . . . .	2,493,811	
1874 . . . . .	8,121,812	
1881 . . . . .	7,457,045	
1888 . . . . .	5,941,900	
1894 . . . . .	6,788,863	

HEMP EXPORTS. (N.Z. Flax or Phormium Tenax.)		
Years.	£	
1864 . . . . .	170	
1867 . . . . .	4,256	
1871 . . . . .	90,611	
1874 . . . . .	37,690	
1881 . . . . .	27,699	
1888 . . . . .	76,282	
1893 . . . . .	219,375	

RAILWAYS.		
Length of Line opened.		
Years.	Miles.	
1873 . . . . .	145	
1878 . . . . .	1,078	
1881 . . . . .	1,333	
1888 . . . . .	1,910	
1894 . . . . .	1,948	

Cost of Construction. £15,137,036.		
WOOL EXPORTS.		
Years.	lb.	Value. £
1858 . . . . .	3,810,372	254,025
1861 . . . . .	7,855,920	532,728
1867 . . . . .	27,152,966	1,580,608
1874 . . . . .	46,848,735	2,834,695
1881 . . . . .	59,415,940	2,909,760
1886 . . . . .	90,853,744	3,072,971
1888 . . . . .	83,226,033	3,115,008
1893 . . . . .	109,719,684	3,774,738
1894 . . . . .	—	4,834,740

GOLD EXPORT.		
Years.	£	
1857 . . . . .	40,422	
1864 . . . . .	1,857,847	
1878 . . . . .	1,244,190	
1888 . . . . .	914,309	
1893 . . . . .	915,921	
1894 . . . . .	887,865	

Total value exported from 1857 (gold first discovered) to March 31, 1894, £49,566,878.

KAURI GUM EXPORTS.		
Years.	Value. £	
1853 . . . . .	15,972	
1858 . . . . .	20,037	
1864 . . . . .	60,590	
1871 . . . . .	167,958	
1878 . . . . .	132,975	
1881 . . . . .	253,788	
1886 . . . . .	257,653	
1888 . . . . .	380,933	
1893 . . . . .	510,775	

BUTTER AND CHEESE EXPORT.		
1884.		
	£	Total.
Butter . . . . .	66,593	
Cheese . . . . .	25,074	
	—	<u>£91,667</u>

Table of Statistics showing the Progress of the Colony.—cont.

## BUTTER AND CHEESE EXPORT—cont.

1888.		
	£	Total
Butter . . .	118,252	
Cheese . . .	78,918	
	<u>          </u>	<u>£197,170</u>
1894.		
	£	Total
Butter . . .	251,280	
Cheese . . .	115,203	
	<u>          </u>	<u>£366,483</u>

COAL.		
Years.	Raised. Tons.	Imported. Tons.
1878 . . .	162,218	174,148
1881 . . .	337,262	129,582
1887 . . .	558,620	107,230
1893 . . .	691,548	117,444

Total output up to December 31,  
1893, 8,496,849 tons.

## FROZEN MEAT EXPORTS.

Years.	Value. £
1881 . . . . .	Nil
1892 . . . . .	19,339

## FROZEN MEAT EXPORTS—cont.

Years.	Value.
1883 . . . . .	118,328
1884 . . . . .	345,090
1885 . . . . .	373,857
1886 . . . . .	427,193
1887 . . . . .	455,870
1888 . . . . .	628,129
1894 . . . . .	1,194,545

## LIVE STOCK.

Years.	Horses.	Cattle.
1843 . . . . .	528	4,065
1858 . . . . .	14,912	137,204
1867 . . . . .	65,715	312,835
1878 . . . . .	137,768	578,430
1886 . . . . .	187,382	853,358
1891 . . . . .	211,040	831,831
1894 . . . . .	. . . . .	885,305

## Sheep.

1843 . . . . .	10,255
1858 . . . . .	1,523,324
1867 . . . . .	8,418,579
1878 . . . . .	13,069,338
1886 . . . . .	16,564,595
1891 . . . . .	18,200,000
1894 . . . . .	20,230,829

	1867.	1878.	1888.	1894.	Average Yield per Acre, 1888.
Land under :	acres.	acres.	acres.	acres.	bushels.
Crop and sown grasses	676,900	3,523,277	7,284,752	8,698,197	—
Wheat . . . . .	47,786	264,861	357,359	242,737	26·37
Oats . . . . .	101,563	327,345	336,474	376,600	31·24
Barley . . . . .	13,136	28,666	27,912	28,800	27·26



## SEVENTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Seventh Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, May 14, 1895, when the Rev. J. E. C. Welldon, M.A., Head Master of Harrow School, read a Paper on "The Imperial Aspects of Education."

The Right Hon. the Earl of Dunraven, K.P., a Vice-President of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the Special General Meeting of 30 April were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 13 Fellows had been elected, viz. 4 Resident and 9 Non-Resident.

## Resident Fellows :—

*George Abercromby Dick, James Orchard Oxley, His Honour Mr. Justice Condé Williams (of Mauritius), George Worthington.*

## Non-Resident Fellows :—

*Thomas Johnson Anderson (Cape Colony), Wm. H. Somerset Bell (Transvaal), Arnold W. Cooper (Natal), Henry B. Dorning (Gold Coast Colony), H. M. Fiedler (Victoria), Hermann Kopke (Gold Coast Colony), Henry L. Lindsay (Transvaal), Felix McGuire, M.H.R. (New Zealand), Dr. Thomas B. Whitton (New Zealand).*

It was also announced that donations to the Library of Books, Maps, &c., had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies, and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

THE CHAIRMAN: In introducing to you the Rev. J. E. C. Welldon, not many words from me are necessary, but I should like just to say this: this Institute has taken a very foremost and very honourable part in educating the public mind of this country to, at any rate, a tolerably adequate conception of what the word Empire means. It has done so, and is doing so, and will I hope, and am very sure, continue to do so, from two points of view. It has endeavoured to explain to the people what is not easy for anybody to realise and understand who has never had the opportunity of travelling—to explain to them what the Empire is, to give some kind of idea of the immense power and influence for good that the British Empire has, and will in future have, to, I trust, an even greater extent as a civilising and great peace-making influence in the world. It has no object of personal aggrandisement. Its

whole end and aim is to be allowed to pursue its own way in peace, and it is impossible to over-estimate the effect that a power of that kind, with the enormous strength, the potential strength that it possesses, may have in influencing the destinies of the world. That is what may be called the higher aspect of the case. On the other hand, nothing could be more useful to those who are growing up, those who have to make their way in the world, and whose duty it is to shape the destinies of the Nation and Empire in the future, than that they should have a practical knowledge of the resources of the Empire, because, in helping them to understand that, you do much to solve the great problem of how, with an ever-increasing population, the inhabitants of this country are to make a living for themselves. This Institute has done a great work, a most honourable work in that direction, and by no man has its work been more thoroughly appreciated and more ably carried out than by the gentleman whom I will ask to address you. He, and any man in his position, occupies a most responsible post, because to them is intrusted the care and duty of moulding the young, which is, practically speaking, moulding the nation. I feel he will never regret the line that he has taken up—the importance he attaches to Imperial education. I feel sure he will never regret it in the future, and many boys whom he has helped to become citizens (well-to-do citizens) of a great Empire will feel they owe him a great debt of gratitude. You also will feel that in disseminating a knowledge as to the Empire, its resources, its power, and its future, he has done a great deal towards shaping, in a way which we should like to see them shaped, the destinies of the whole world.

The Rev. J. E. C. WELLDON, M.A., then read his Paper on

### THE IMPERIAL ASPECTS OF EDUCATION.

It is my first duty to offer my respectful thanks to the members of the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute for the honour they have paid to myself and to Harrow by asking me to deliver an address upon the imperial aspects of education. And may I not, in thanking the Council, refer in their name, as in my own, with deep regret, to the memory of one who was a member of the Council when I undertook this address, and indeed invited me to undertake it, and who is now no more, one whose gentle and accomplished mind was ever set upon binding the parts of the Empire in closer and closer union—my respected neighbour, my valued friend, Mr. de Labilliere?

I am not aware that the subject of education has until now been brought directly before this Institute. No doubt a great many of the questions which have been discussed here possessed, and were felt to possess, an educational interest. But it has not been shown that an imperial people might be trained and disciplined in a sense of their imperial responsibilities. Yet it will hardly be denied that education, as it relates to the whole conduct of human life, whether public or private, must in a sense relate to the administration of an empire. The Roman Empire of Augustus is perhaps the only parallel in strength and beneficence to the modern British Empire, and Virgil has stamped the character of its citizens in some noble lines which breathe the spirit of a high imperial dignity.

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra,  
Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore voltus,  
Orabunt causas melius, cælique meatus  
Describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent :  
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento ;  
Hæ tibi erunt artes ; pacisque imponere morem,  
Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

The lines are pagan—they are even savage : but they are imperial lines. They exhibit the Romans as content to leave to other nations the accomplishments of art, science, philosophy, and rhetoric, if only conquest and command were their own prerogatives, and it is felt that a nation which could produce such poetry was alone capable of raising such an empire.

In English history there is a coincidence of dates which serves to bring out in strong relief the connection between educational advance and imperial power. Two reigns, both queenly reigns, may be said to mark, the one the beginning, the other the consummation of the British Empire. The first is the reign of Queen Elizabeth ; the second is the reign of Queen Victoria. It is, of course, well known to me, as to you all, that to the Elizabethan era belongs, strictly speaking, the foundation of one Colony only, the earliest of all British Colonies, and, I am afraid, the most unfortunate, Newfoundland, and, I ought perhaps to add, the discovery of Virginia, which still bears the name of the “imperial votaress,” the “fair vestal thronèd by the west,” though the earliest Colonists of Virginia all came home again, and it was not settled until the reign of James I. So far and in that sense the British Empire is a creation later than the reign of Elizabeth. But that reign was the birthday of the colonial spirit, if not of the Colonies—of the imperial spirit, if not of the Empire. The names of Willoughby

and Chancellor, the heroes of the north-east passage, and of Frobisher and Davies, the heroes of the north-west passage to the Indies; of Hawkins, whose love of adventure was intensified, but not disgraced, by his love of money; of Drake and Cavendish, both circumnavigators of the globe, at whose bold feats the Inquisition itself turned pale; of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who in his frigate, the "Squirrel," of ten tons, was wrecked on his way home from Newfoundland, and crying "We are as near Heaven by sea as by land," went down into the wild waves; and, last and greatest of all, the very impersonation of the spirit of the time—statesman, courtier, scholar, explorer, captain, knight-errant—Gilbert's brilliant and erratic half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh. They did not found many great Colonies, these bold mariners; they left them for the generation that followed; but it was their daring, their adventures, and the tales they told of wonderful far-off countries which excited the hopes and ambitions of the men who in the seventeenth century became the founders of the British Empire in the west. What a difference lies between the line which Shakespeare puts into Valentine's lips in the "Two Gentlemen of Verona," "Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits," and the sinister meaning habitually associated with such words as 'vagrant' and 'vagabond'! I venture to assert, too, that the striking episode of the Armada is not correctly understood as a struggle between a Catholic and a Protestant power for religious supremacy; it is also, and indeed still more, a war to the death between the two great conquering and colonising states for the empire of the New World. Thus the seventeenth century is as truly the child of the sixteenth as is the eighteenth of the seventeenth. And as it is in the tales of Drake's and Raleigh's followers that the historian sees the germs of the great associations, such as the Virginia Company and the East India Company, which carried the flag of England to the ends of the world, so he will look for the motive which sent Drake and Raleigh on their long voyages, to the Reformation and the Revival of Learning, the two co-ordinate stirrings and strivings of the human heart and intellect which made England in the sixteenth century sublime. For it is only when great deeds are done that great thoughts are possible, as the names of Shakespeare and Milton and Byron among others prove.

But if the Elizabethan era marks the beginning, it is not less true that the Victorian era marks the consummation of the British Empire. The seventeenth century may be said to be the age of individual explorers, the eighteenth of commercial companies, the



nineteenth of the State. I do not so much mean that the acquisitions made in the last fifty years have never been equalled or surpassed in English history. New Zealand, Hong Kong, the Punjab, British Columbia, Queensland, Burmah, South Africa, are great possessions. But the foundation of the British Empire in India, the conquest of Acadie and Canada, the names of Clive and Warren Hastings and Wolfe, stand out in still brighter colours. It is not the expansion of Empire, it is the spirit of Empire, which is the characteristic of the reign of Queen Victoria. When the Queen ascended the throne, it was doubtful among statesmen and administrators whether the Colonies and Dependencies were not more justly regarded as burdens or encumbrances than as jewels in her crown, nor had the idea of welding them into a vast whole dawned on men's minds. When the Queen dies—may the day be far distant!—she will bequeath an empire to her successor not only immeasurably greater in extent and population than it was at the beginning of her reign, but knit together by innumerable ties of interest, and sentiment, and devotion. The late Sir John Seeley's celebrated book, "*The Expansion of England*," is one of the signs, as it was one of the causes, of the new spirit. The British Kingdom has become the British Empire. The English-speaking peoples of the world and their subjects and allies—I do not forget or exclude the population of the United States—are become conscious of a high imperial destiny.

But while this is so, it falls within the proper scope of my paper to remind you that the two great reigns of Elizabeth and Victoria mark the chief epochs, not only of empire but of education. There were anticipations of colonial enterprise before Elizabeth; but they were no more than the shadows of coming glory. The illustrious foundations of Winchester and Eton, among the public schools of England, are pre-Elizabethan; they were the precursors of all the more modern schools. But the strange thing is that the age of Elizabeth was one active and progressive era in education, the age of Victoria has been another; and between them little or no advance was made. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries held no educational place as compared with the sixteenth and the nineteenth. In the year 1572 Sir Francis Drake started on his first famous voyage round the world. In that same year the founder of Harrow began his work of building up his school as an educational institution upon the strength of the charter which he had obtained the year before from Queen Elizabeth. Like other founders of schools John Lyon seems to

have conceived the idea of a wider than a purely local foundation ; for in the statutes of the school it is provided that "The school-master may receive over and above the youth of the inhabitants within this parish, so many foreigners as the whole may be well taught and applied, and the place can conveniently contain, and of these foreigners he may take such stipend and wages as he can get." That is what I am doing to-day.

If in this paper I refer to the public schools particularly, you will forgive me ; for I shall speak of what I know. No English institutions are more characteristic of England. Talleyrand is reported to have said in his sarcastic way that the English Public School educational system was the best in the world—and that it was detestable, *et cela est détestable*. The Public Schools have many faults, and to be engaged in administering one of them is to know pretty well what the faults are ; but they are so well adapted to the English nature, they possess such a hold upon the affections and interests of the English people, that no criticism, however well it may be descried, is apparently capable of injuring their prosperity. It has happened to me to live for a good time abroad in continental places of education ; and I say unhesitatingly, and I know you will agree with me, that the sentiment of an English Public School man for his school is unknown and unimagined elsewhere. Where will you find such tender lifelong devotion to a school as Lord Wellesley's to Eton ? Read his letters written when he was Governor-General of India to his old tutor ; or still more the felicitous and pathetic Latin verses which he composed as his own epitaph, desiring to be buried, as he was at last, in the chapel of Eton College ; what tribute in the world is there more honourable to the writer, more honourable to the school whose son he was ? Or look at Byron's desire that his daughter Allegra might rest in death within the church where he had worshipped as a boy at Harrow. Who but a Public School boy would come home, like Bruce the Harrovian traveller, from Abyssinia in time to dine with his schoolfellows at Harrow ; who would rush into battle, like that young officer at Tel-el-Kebir with the cry of *Floreat Etona* on his lips ? The feeling so exemplified is remarkable, and all the more so because it cannot be pretended that the Public Schools which have inspired the most devoted affection have been always the places of highest culture or most refined delicacy. I can hardly be expected to approve of the remark which Bacon in his "Advancement of Learning" quotes from Cicero about Cato, that "his excellencies were his own, his

defects came from the schoolmaster." But I remember how Mr. Carlyle in a familiar passage of his "Life of John Sterling" says he had observed in his friends educated at Eton that it was not the things which the masters commanded, but the things which they forbade, that had done the boys' character so much good. I cannot perhaps go the whole way with Mr. Carlyle; but it is only too sad a truth that schoolmasters have been in the past strangely blind and dull to the promise of their pupils, and have often thought little and hoped little of those who became the bright glories of their schools. It will be well if the schoolmasters of the future shall take a wider view of education. For after all it is not so much the lessons learnt in class that constitute education; it is the habits formed in a great and generous community. "What is the education of the generality of the world?" exclaims Burke on his impeachment of the great proconsul, whose faults as well as virtues were so vastly successful in extending the scope and celebrity of the British Empire. "Reading a parcel of books? No. Restraint of discipline, emulation, examples of virtue and of justice, form the education of the world."

I take my stand upon these words. You will forgive me if I speak warmly as one whose life is given to the education of the young. What is education? What should be the aim that every teacher sets before himself? It is not a narrow or circumscribed view. It is large and spacious and profound. It is in Milton's stately phrase, so to train his pupils that they may "perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices both private and public of peace and war." That is "a compleat and generous education," that and nothing less. Speaking in my own name (for I have no right to speak for others), I do not care to turn out scholars and mathematicians, or indeed, I do care, but I care far more to turn out governors, administrators, generals, philanthropists, statesmen. It is a grave error to judge the work of any teacher by the results which his pupils attain when they are twelve years old and go to school, or when they are nineteen and leave school, or when they are twenty-two and leave the university. Let me be judged, if judged at all, upon the large field of national or international affairs. If it can be said with truth of the English schools and universities that year after year, generation after generation, century after century, they send forth men not without faults, not without limitations of knowledge or culture, not always guiltless perhaps of false quantities, as the Duke of Wellington himself was not guiltless nor immaculate perhaps in spelling, as the Duke of



Wellington was not immaculate; but men of vigour, tact, courage, and integrity, men who are brave and chivalrous and true, men who in the words of the academical prayer are "duly qualified to serve God both in church and state," then they can afford to smile at criticisms or can listen to them without shame or self-reproach. That is the object which the educator of to-day may set before himself; that is the service which he can render to his country.

In this view of education it is natural to ask, what are the qualities of Englishmen which have enabled them not only to win but to retain their mighty Empire? I say to "retain" as well as to "win;" for the thought which will occur to any historical student as extraordinary is not that the Empire should have been lost or won by the inhabitants of the little British Isles—a people once regarded as being cut off from civilisation, *penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*—but that the process of building it up should have lasted for three centuries, and should even now, after so long a time, show no signs of coming to an end. Other nations besides the British have possessed foreign empires. "The British Empire," says Sir John Seeley, "is the only considerable survivor of a family of great Empires which arose out of the contact of the western states of Europe with the New World so suddenly laid open by Vasco da Gama and Columbus." There was a Spanish Empire once; there was a Portuguese Empire; there was a French Empire; there was a Dutch Empire. Some of them, conspicuously the Portuguese and Dutch Empires, like the Phœnician and the Greek in antiquity, were the creations of small states. But all have perished or decayed. Those which remain are but the shadows of their past selves. A glance at the map of the British Empire shows how many places which are now integral parts of the Empire bear or once bore names significant of some other dominant power than the British. How much history is contained in such old names as Acadie, Van Diemen's Land, Louisiana, New Amsterdam! But the colonising genius of Englishmen has been not less remarkable in its duration than in its extent. It is greater now than it ever was; it will apparently be far greater than it now is. To take one instance only: the Suez Canal was a French work; but eighty per cent. of the tonnage which passes through it belongs to Great Britain.

What are the qualities which have produced this striking result? In other words, what are the qualities by which the English, as an imperial people, have shown themselves superior to other nations?

I will mention four.

It is possible that I shall be misunderstood, and it is almost cer-



tain that I shall be criticised, if I say that England owes her Empire far more to her *sports* than to her studies. The duty of a conscientious schoolmaster is sometimes supposed to lie in looking askance upon the athletic games of his pupils. I disdain that conscientious hypocrisy. It is the instinct of sport which has played a great part in creating the British Empire. I do not deny that the appreciation of games, among the young especially, may become excessive. It may not be the best use of money to spend thousands of pounds upon telegraphing from the Antipodes the details of a cricket match between England and Australia. The *Spectator* newspaper has called cricket a "very tedious game." It is not half so tedious as the *Spectator*. It may not be the best expenditure of time that some fifty thousand people should visit the Crystal Palace to see the final football match for the Association Challenge Cup. But these are the interests which have made England a strong and dominant power; nor can anyone who has lived in a French *lycée* or a German *gymnasium* help being thankful for the healthy, vigorous, athletic tastes of the English nation. It is not long since I was at Harrow, looking on at a football match, and a lady said to me, "What do you think of this, Mr. Welldon?" I said, "It is to this that we owe the British Empire." Englishmen are not superior to Frenchmen or Germans in brains or industry or the science and apparatus of war; but they are superior in the health and temper which games impart. That the battle of Waterloo was won in the playing-fields of Eton is a saying which has passed into a proverb. But I do not think I am wrong in saying that the sport, the pluck, the resolution, and the strength which have within the last few weeks animated the little garrison at Chitral and the gallant force that has accomplished their deliverance are effectively acquired in the cricket-fields and football-fields of the great public schools, and in the games of which they are the habitual scenes. For it is not the physical value of athletic games that is the highest. The pluck, the energy, the perseverance, the good temper, the self-control, the discipline, the co-operation, the *esprit de corps*, which merit success in cricket or football, are the very qualities which win the day in peace or war. The men who possessed these qualities, not sedate and faultless citizens, but men of will, spirit, and chivalry, are the men who conquered at Plassey and Quebec. In the history of the British Empire it is written that England has owed her sovereignty to her sports.

But above athletic vigour stands the quality of which Englishmen, and especially English Public School men, stand pre-eminent.

I will call it *readiness*. It can indeed be scarcely defined in a single word. It means courage, it means self-reliance, it means the power of seizing opportunities, it means resource. But whatever it is, it is characteristic of the English race. I remember asking the most distinguished of living travellers what he had found to be the secret of success in life, and his answering that it was not so much intellectual ability as promptitude in taking advantage of opportunities. That is, I believe, the hereditary gift of Englishmen. It is fostered by the English public schools. When I look at the lines of my own pupils, I sometimes say to myself, "These boys are not remarkably clever or remarkably cultivated, but if you take any one of them and put him down in difficult circumstances and tell him to make the best of them, the chances are that he will not greatly fail." There are few facts more striking than the latent reserve power of the English race. It is not in the few men whose names are familiar as household words, it is the far greater number of men who, if they were called upon to face an emergency, would face it successfully, that the strength of England consists. Wonderful in history has been the manner in which Englishmen have risen above disasters, nay, not seldom, have turned them into blessings. The same century saw the loss of the United States and the conquests of Canada and India. The original English settlement in Australia followed only five years later upon the Peace of Versailles, by which England recognised the independence of the United States of America. There lie but a few years between the mutiny of the Nore and Nelson's victories at the Nile and Trafalgar. Again and again have Englishmen, left to themselves, been better and greater than their government. It has been well said, "If the work done by the English nation has, in the end, proved to be of better quality and more lasting character than that of other peoples, if the English succeeded in India, while the Portuguese failed, if British America has prospered, while Spanish America has not, if the United States grew and developed out of all proportion to the French colony in Canada, one great reason for the difference seems to be, that the members of the English-speaking race, as compared with other races, have, throughout its history, both at home and abroad, relied, not so much on their government, as on themselves." The men who made the Empire had faith in England and in themselves; and they needed no other faith, except in God. They did not theorise about the work which had to be done, they did not talk about it, but they set to work doggedly, irresistibly, "pegging away," as President Lincoln said, and, in spite of many failures,

they did it. It was so with the founders of the British Empire in India. It has been so with that remarkable group of men who might all, I suppose, have been driven out of Cairo in a single omnibus, Lord Cromer and his colleagues, the regenerators of Egypt. It is so with Mr. Rhodes. There is no need to eulogise or criticise his career. I do not defend all Mr. Rhodes's actions; they do not need defence. A great career is not free from shadows; they only throw up its brilliancy. But I say he is the kind of man who has made the Empire. I say he is an example of what an Englishman can do who has confidence in himself, and who wins the confidence of others. You see how the British Empire in India was built up by seeing how the British Empire in South Africa is being built up to-day. And, unless I am mistaken, you learn two lessons from the scenes that are being enacted before your eyes. One is, that the worst method of choosing men for great administrative and imperial positions is by counting up marks obtained in a literary examination. And the other is that a great man, if he is to do a great work, must have a free hand. If the telegraph had existed in the days of Clive and Warren Hastings, there would have been no British Empire in India. Mr. Rhodes owes his success, not to himself alone, but to his freedom from the control of Downing Street. The imperial government is unequal, as it always has been, to the task of creating an Empire. The Empire is the work of bold, courageous, and invincible spirits, who knew when their chances came and took advantage of them, and who chose, for themselves and for their country, not to be "little Englanders" but great Englanders, imperial Englishmen.

Do not let it be thought, however, that in estimating the greatness of England and of the British Empire I forget the value of *character*. It is the supreme ruling quality of Englishmen. They owe more to their morals than to their arms. I think every year that one lives one feels more strongly the supremacy of high and noble character. It is the habit to say to my boys when they are leaving school: "I do not much care that you shall have gifts or powers or riches or good fortune; but if you have character—if it is known of you that no temptation on earth would divert you by a hair's breadth from the strict path of honour, then there is nothing too hard for you in life." The word of an Englishman—the honour of an Englishman—what a treasure that is! Englishmen are not the most attractive people in the world. They are often proud, intolerant, unsociable, they are apt to ride roughshod over other's feelings, which they call prejudices. But upon the whole,



with many defects, they have won the confidence of mankind. I was very much struck in reading that excellent book "Where Three Empires Meet" with the following passage: "Those who knew Russian Turkestan will tell us that even there, should a dispute occur—over some trade transaction, for instance—between two natives, they, having no confidence in their own magistrates and not much faith in Russian incorruptibility, will ask any English traveller who may be by to act as arbitrator on the case, his word being of higher authority than the decision of tribunals." That is striking testimony, and if it be true, what higher service can a schoolmaster or any teacher render to education than by pointing out to his pupils how much they advance the cause of the Empire by unswerving honesty, how great an injury they may do it, if by any act of theirs they lower the name and fame of England? and how can he better impress the lesson upon them than by holding up before their eyes the examples of the men *sans peur et sans reproche* who made the Empire, such as Wellington, Havelock, Dalhousie, the Lawrences, Livingstone, and Gordon?

And is it wrong to add that the British Empire has depended not upon these qualities only of which I have spoken, but upon *religion*? It is true enough that the religious character of Englishmen has been stained at different times by grievous faults. But deep down in their hearts has been the fear of God. I believe it has been the secret of their success. I will say no more about it. But Sir John Seeley's words are worth remembering. "I always hold," he says, "that religion is the great state-building principle. These Colonies"—he is speaking of the Colonies of North America—"could create a new state because they were already a church, since the church, so at least I hold, is the soul of the state; where there is a church a state grows up in time; but if you find a state which is not also in some sense a church, you find a state which is not long for this world."

Such are the qualities, as I conceive, upon which the British Empire has been based—physical strength, promptitude, self-reliance, character, religion. And if so, it follows that one whose life is spent in training citizens for the service of the Empire will think only or chiefly of these things. But an Empire based upon these qualities will inspire him and will help him to inspire others with certain sentiments. Will you let me try to say what those sentiments are?

He who would give his pupils what I have called an imperial education will profoundly believe in the imperial destiny of the



British race. I do not know if patriotism has at all times been the special feature of the English race. Bishop Warburton, writing in the middle of the last century, speaks of "that antiquated forgotten virtue called the love of our country." It is not so now. Patriotism is not the spirit of one party in the State, but of all parties. I am not ashamed to say, as a teacher of the young, that I share it to the full. I believe, and I want my pupils to believe, that the British race is the best in all the world. It is the race which has most succeeded in combining liberty with law, religion with freedom, self-respect with respect for other races. I believe that it is called by Providence to play a paramount part in the history of nations. I believe in my heart that the best thing which can happen to the uncivilised peoples of the world is that they should come more and more under the influence of Great Britain. It is much to say, but it is not more than Milton said when he used the proud words, "When God is decreeing to begin some new and great period in His church, even to the reforming of the Reformation itself, what does He then but reveal Himself to His servants, and, as His manner is, first to His Englishmen!"

To be a patriot is not the same thing as to be a Jingo. But a man cannot be an honorary citizen of all nations any more than he can be in Wilberforce's phrase, "an honorary member of all religions." And if a man thinks other nations as good as his own, it is not that he loves all nations, but he does not love any.

It is clear then that whatever fosters the spirit of a just patriotism is of national value. Patriotism is an unmixed good when it is not the first sentiment in the mind but the second; in other words, when it is subordinated to the fear of God.

I think that it is the duty of a teacher to bring before his pupils, and not once in a way only, but habitually, the magnitude and dignity of the British Empire. The history and geography of the Empire will become in his hands powerful educational instruments. He will show, by a series of illustrative maps, such as are found, e.g. in Mr. Lucas's book on the "Historical Geography of the British Colonies," by what steps the dominion of Great Britain was spread over the world. The insular position of Great Britain, separating it naturally from continental politics, will be appreciated at its true value. The scientific study of geography begins with Hakluyt, and he was a contemporary of the Elizabethan explorers. The geographical extent of the Empire, its population, its commerce, its variety of resources, its shipping, its policy, will fall into place. What a revelation it is when the young mind apprehends that the

British Empire to-day includes some 350,000,000 of human beings, that its annual imports and exports amount to £1,000,000,000, and that it covers one-sixth part of the habitable globe! Lectures or addresses, such as Mr. Parkin has often delivered on behalf of Imperial Federation, arrest and impress the minds of youthful hearers. Nor can it be wrong to point out that the chief failures of British enterprise have, unlike those of other nations, been frequently blessings in after-time. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes served only to cripple the resources of France and to enrich other nations, England especially, at her expense. But the enforced or voluntary expatriation of the Puritans gave England, or the English-speaking race, the dominion of a new world. Queen Mary said that when she died the name of Calais would be found written on her heart; but it was the loss of all direct interest in the great continental wars that set England free for the foundation of her Colonial Empire. When Lord Palmerston in the famous Dom Pacifico speech quoted the formula *Civis Romanus sum*, as typical of the protecting power by which an English citizen was encircled all the world over, his words possessed an even deeper and wider meaning than he knew.

But it is not in treaties and conventions, it is in the sympathies of race, of language and of religion, that the strength of Empire lies. And more and more the English race is realising its unity. It is becoming compacted in great confederations—the United States of America, the Dominion of Canada, the Indian Empire, which are already established realities, and the confederations of Australia and of South Africa, which are tending towards realisation. That there are difficulties, especially of tariff and taxation, in the way of formal union, I know well; perhaps such union in itself is not desirable. But it may at least be said that the task of imperial representation is not greater or stranger than the task of representative government itself seemed to antiquity. Aristotle, in his “Politics,” could not conceive of a State in which the citizens should be unable all to hear the voice of the same herald. And if the one difficulty has been overcome, so may the others be, not, indeed, at once, or for many years, but at last.

For, if the Empire is ever extending in magnitude, the means of communication between its parts extend still more rapidly. It is greater, far greater than it was, but for practical purposes it is smaller. The telegraph kills time. The steam engine kills distance. The ocean is no longer the great dissevering, but the great uniting power. And if Burke thought that the Atlantic Ocean forbade, and must for ever forbid, any confederation of the Old World

and the New, he thought so in an age when Rome was farther from London than New York is now.

It is not easy to calculate the educational effects of the ever-growing passion for foreign travel upon the English-speaking world at home and abroad. What is certain is that the passion exists and is likely to grow. A journey round the world is no more now than the continental *grand tour* was in Lord Chesterfield's time. Travel has itself become a part of education. It is safe to predict that a time is coming when a man who has not made himself to some extent acquainted with the English colonies and dependencies abroad, will seem disqualified for a high position in public life at home.

I do not deny that foreign travel has its dangers. Faraday held that no man could travel much and be religious. There is no doubt a danger that a man, by acclimatising himself, as it were, in all countries, may lose the distinctive features, which are frequently the most valuable, of his own. The society of Paris is on a large scale, the society of Simla or Cairo on a small, a witness to this danger. Yet it is only by travelling that Englishmen can learn to appreciate the full strength and glory of the British Empire. As Mr. Rudyard Kipling says in his splendid poem, "The English Flag: "

What should they know of England who only England know ?

But to have sailed through the Suez Canal, to have crossed the great continent of the West by the Canadian Pacific Railway, to have stood in the bazaars of Cairo or Calcutta, to have entered the harbour of Sydney, to have seen the stir and stress of commercial life in Cape Town, is to understand what the present and the future have in store. It must be remembered, too, that among the English-speaking Colonies in years to come, there will be generations of men and women who have never known the old country as their fathers and their fathers' fathers knew it, who have no special feeling for it or interest in it, who never think of it as home. Between them and us the communion which foreign travel affords may come to be of even higher value than it now is. It will aid in intensifying sympathy. The time has come already when the Australian Colonies can voluntarily ally their arms with ours in the Soudan. The time is coming, I think, when the whole English-speaking world, not excluding the people of the United States, would forbid, and by their united action prevent, any grievous loss or injury to England.

For, whatever may happen, there is one bond of union which



unites and must unite the English-speaking world. It is the English language itself. That language is the heritage of all who live beneath the flag of England. The future has few certainties or none; but if there be any, one is that, if ever there is a universal language—a language spoken or understood among all members of the human family—it will be English. The language of Shakespeare and Milton will control the world. Already its influence is infinitely wider and more powerful than was ever the influence of Greek under Alexander the Great, or of Latin under Augustus. My friend Mr. George Curzon, who is so brilliant an example of the results attained by bringing a trained intelligence to bear by personal direct experience upon questions of foreign policy, says of it:—

Already spoken in every store from Yokohama to Rangoon; already taught in the military and naval colleges of China, and in the schools of Japan and of Siam; already employed on the telegraphic services of Japan, China, and Korea, and stamped upon the silver coins that issue from the mints of Osaka and Canton; already used by Chinamen themselves as a means of communication between subjects from different provinces of their mighty Empire—it is destined with absolute certainty to be the language of the far East. Its sounds will go out into all lands, and its words unto the ends of the world.

The wide extension of the English language, as it brings the far parts of the world into greater sympathy with the modes of life and thought in England, will help not a little to the happy determination of a large and difficult question. That question is whether it is within the power of a democracy to govern an Empire. That democracy makes imperial government difficult no one will deny who knows what democracy is or what government is. Thucydides, who could not have conceived of democracy in its present wide acceptance, seems to have held that the democracy of Athens would fail as an imperial power. And I think it may be said that in modern times the statesmen whose faith in the future of the Empire has been lowest are they who possessed the least faith in the democracy which they saw and feared to be inevitable.

For my own part, I entertain a brighter hope. If I distrust the democracy at all, it is its discretion which I distrust, and not its disposition. I think the sympathies of the democracy will be found, and all the more as it advances in culture and information, to lie on the side of duty, honour, and generosity.

At all events it is the part of education to foster and promote such a spirit. The history of India suggests that duty. It may be that



the means by which the British Empire in India was won lie open to censure. But history presents no full parallel to the spirit in which it is administered. For in India Government exists in the strictest sense for the benefit, not of the governors, but of the governed. It has enriched 250 millions of people with the unexampled riches of peace, and law, and order. What the issue may be rests in other Hands than ours. The unforeseen will happen in the future as in the past. It is enough if the work that is given us to do is done in a responsible and righteous temper.

The case of India affords an inspiring lesson to the educator. But other examples are not wanting. They show how rapidly progress is made, when the conscience, first of individuals, then of the nation, has been touched. Among those examples the case of the slave trade stands pre-eminent. The Assiento contract by which the English nation obtained the exclusive right of importing negro slaves into the Spanish West Indies, was signed between England and Spain in 1713. Nearly eighty years later, in 1791, Mr. Wesley wrote from his deathbed to Mr. Wilberforce the celebrated letter in which he said: "Unless the Divine power has raised you up to be as *Athanasius contra mundum*, I see not how you can go through your glorious enterprise, in opposing that execrable villainy which is the scandal of religion, of England, and of human nature. Unless God has raised you up for this very thing you will be worn out by the opposition of men and devils; but if God be for you, who can be against you? Are all of them together stronger than God? Oh, be not weary of well-doing. Go on in the name of God, and in the power of His might, till even American slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun, shall vanish away before it." That was on February 24, 1791. Look on sixteen years—sixteen years to a day—it is the day when the Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade passed the House of Commons—and it is told in the "Life of Wilberforce," that when Sir Samuel Romilly, the Solicitor-General, "entreated the young Members of Parliament to let this day's event be a lesson to them, how much the rewards of virtue exceeded those of ambition; and then contrasted the feelings of the Emperor of the French, in all his greatness, with those of that honoured man, who would this day lay his head upon his pillow and remember that the Slave Trade was no more; the whole House surprised into a forgetfulness of its ordinary habits, burst into acclamations of applause."

The history of the awakening national conscience in respect of the slave trade does not stand alone. The protest of Wilberforce

and Clarkson against the traffic in slaves was repeated in the protest of Archbishop Whately and others against the system of transporting convicts. From the birth of that system to its death is a period of only eighty years. The first batch of convicts was sent to New South Wales in 1787; the last batch was sent to Western Australia in 1867. So rapidly, so completely can public opinion be changed by the action of enlightened citizens! And the spirit of equity and charity which animated these noble and philanthropic men was afterwards the spirit of those who, as Bishop Selwyn and Bishop Colenso, advocated the claims of the native populations upon the English conscience, or of Livingstone in his lifelong, immortal crusade against "the open sore" of Africa.

These are the instances which elevate and ennoble English history. That they have been self-denying and sometimes costly is their merit. The Imperial Parliament voted in 1834 the sum of twenty millions sterling as compensation to the slave-owners. By that vote Parliament enacted two great principles which it may be well to bear in memory for all time, viz. (1) that a nation possesses a conscience, and is called to a duty—a nation as well as an individual; and (2) that in the discharge of its duty it must avoid, as far as possible, inflicting loss upon individuals.

One last lesson there is which the study of the British Empire suggests, and the student of imperial politics will enforce upon his pupils. It is the lesson of Imperial unity.

The Empire is one. The English-speaking world is one. Amidst a thousand differences of place, climate, resources, life, culture, religion, and politics, it is in essential tone and character one. The men who founded it, the men who upheld it, have been animated by the same spirit, and have aspired to the same exalted aim. In the large life of the British Empire questions of domestic policy, however important in themselves, decline and vanish. What is "one man one vote," what is Local Veto, what is Welsh Disestablishment, what even is the resolution which shall sweep away the House of Lords, in comparison with those vast national and international interests which claim the thoughts and ambitions of all imperial Englishmen? They have evoked, and they evoke to-day, a wealth of patriotism, of self-sacrifice, of enthusiasm, which the ears of men and statesmen at home are too often slow to appreciate. By great deeds and true, by splendid efforts, by noble deaths and yet more noble lives, the British Empire has been consolidated, and stands:

*Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem,*

And it is there that the unity of the race is felt and realised. There it is that Englishmen, Scotchmen, Welshmen, Irishmen too, have learnt or have not forgotten their unity; or if they forget it at home, they learn it anew abroad.

It is needless, or it would take too long, to quote here the famous passage in which Sheil, in his speech on the Irish Municipal Bill, repudiated the allegation made, or supposed to have been made, by Lord Lyndhurst, that the Irish were "aliens." But his appeal to Sir Henry Hardinge is in point:—

Tell me, for you were there (at Waterloo) . . . tell me, for you must needs remember—on that day when the destinies of mankind were trembling in the balance—while death fell in showers—when the artillery of France was levelled with a precision of the most deadly science—when her legions, incited by the voice and inspired by the example of their mighty leader, rushed again and again to the onset—tell me if, for an instant, when to hesitate for an instant was to be lost, the "aliens" blenched? . . . . The blood of England, Scotland, and Ireland flowed in the same stream and drenched the same field. When the chill morning dawned, their dead lay cold and stark together—in the same deep pit their bodies were deposited—the green corn of spring is now breaking from their commingled dust—the dew falls from heaven upon their "union" in the grave. Partakers in every peril—in the glory shall we not be permitted to participate? and shall we be told, as a requital, that we are estranged from the noble country for whose salvation our life-blood was poured out?

I pray God that this spirit may continue. So long as it is permitted me to play a part, however humble it may be, in education, it will be my effort to impress it upon my boys. Others will impress it with more vigour and success than I. But it is the one lesson worth teaching and worth learning. The boys of to-day are the statesmen and administrators of to-morrow. In their hands is the future of the British Empire. May they prove themselves not unworthy of their solemn charge! May they scorn the idea of tarnishing or diminishing the Empire which their forefathers won! May they augment, consolidate, and exalt it! May it be given them to cherish great ideas, to make great efforts, and to win great victories! That is my prayer.

We sailed wherever ship could sail,  
We founded many a mighty state;  
Pray God our greatness may not fail  
Through craven fear of being great!

## DISCUSSION.

Professor J. A. LIEBMANN (Cape Colony): I feel particularly proud at having been requested to offer a few remarks on the most eloquent paper that our worthy lecturer, the eminent scholar and learned divine, the Head Master of Harrow, has just addressed to us. It is a paper that in my opinion is pregnant with so many points of interest that a whole volume of essays could be written upon it. What the opinion of others may be I do not know, but, as one who has lived a number of years in the Cape Colony, I may be allowed to remark that a great many of us, who call ourselves Colonists, will be delighted to note the truly Imperial point of view from which the lecturer has treated his subject. The pith of the lecture perhaps may be put in these words, "That it should be the duty of you 'who live at home at ease' to educate your sons and your daughters to their Imperial responsibilities." In order to do so, you should not have, as the lecturer remarked, hazy notions of what Empire means. It was, I believe, the humorist Max O'Rell who remarked that the English schoolboy's knowledge of France was confined to the fact that it was a country which produced the French irregular verbs. In order that you should know what Empire means, you should have more than a hazy idea about the glorious birthright that it is each Englishman's privilege to inherit. I believe I am correct in saying that the Council of this Institute has frequently drawn attention to the national importance of education in matters of geography, history, climate, and the commercial resources of this mighty Empire, and one of our Fellows, the Rev. W. P. Greswell, who used to be a lecturer in my own college, has published a book on the part of the world that, at the present, is occupying a good deal of attention—South Africa. You have a Geographical Association for the furtherance of knowledge concerning the Empire by improving the teaching of geography in schools. I regret in reading over one of the reports of the Council to find remarks to the effect, that the knowledge of geography as at present existing is very unsatisfactory and far inferior to that possessed by boys in foreign schools. As an Englishman myself I regret to say we are extremely bad copyists. English copies of French plays are as a rule execrable. We try to copy the German "Pickelhaube" and produce an abortion, but there is one thing in which we might follow our Teutonic cousins, and that is the matter of thoroughness in study—the study of the geography of their own country. When I speak of *our* own country I do not mean the little mud bank in



the Atlantic. I mean the Empire as a whole. We dwellers beyond the sea are your own kith and kin, people united by language, race, religion, and by the great characteristics that Mr. Welldon has referred to—sport, readiness of character, promptitude and self-reliance. I take it you can only get to know what Empire means by educating your sons and daughters to thoroughly understand what a glorious birthright is theirs. May I mention a few amusing points which date back not very long ago, proving the grossest ignorance about the Colonial possessions? They are all of South Africa. It was reported at the time of the discovery of the diamond fields by a leading London paper, that it was the customary habit of nurse girls of Cape Town to wheel their little charges in their perambulators on Saturday afternoons, for the purpose of getting the fresh air, along the banks of the Orange River. It has been stated that during the Boer war the Admiralty ordered one of the gunboats to go up the coast of Natal as near as could be and shell Potchefstroom, in the Transvaal. It is on record that a request had been made for an extra chaplain in King William's Town, a town in the eastern province of Cape Colony. A reverend gentleman got up in Convocation and said that he saw absolutely no necessity for another chaplain, because we had one at Grahamstown and another at Natal, and surely the two could arrange between themselves to ride over on alternate Sundays and take the services required. I think the best thanks are due to Mr. Welldon, not only of those present, but of the Fellows of this Institute beyond the seas, who will have the opportunity of reading the eloquent words with which the lecturer has charmed us. They have not had the opportunity of enjoying the studied eloquence of his address, but they will be able to gather from the report the force of character, broadness of views, warmth of colouring, depth of sentiment, and largeness of sympathy with which he has clothed his words, pointed the moral, and adorned the tale.

Judge PROWSE (Newfoundland): It was a very happy thought on the part of the Council of this Society to invite a schoolmaster to address the Royal Colonial Institute on this important subject, and in choosing Mr. Welldon they selected the best known and most distinguished schoolmaster in England. The Head Master of Harrow fills a very high position, a post of honour and power. There is this peculiarity about the position of a great English head master. They won't let him remain a schoolmaster for long, they are always wanting to put wings on him, to make a bishop of him. Well, I think a great schoolmaster, a man set on high as Mr.

Welldon is at Harrow-on-the-Hill, is a much greater man and a more important man than a bishop. What bishop in this century has filled such a large place in the public mind of England as Arnold, the great educator? What bishop is there at the present time who will be noted in the history of our century? Well, perhaps you will say the archbishop; if so, it is mainly through his son. There is no country where a great schoolmaster fills so high a social position, or is so honoured, and so deservedly honoured, as in England. This lecture was badly wanted. We want to know, and all the school children in England should know, more about the Empire. There is much room for improvement. A grocer's shop in England is to-day a study in the commercial geography of the Empire. We know, I am thankful to say, more than our forefathers about the greater England beyond the seas. There used to be a joke about the Duke of Newcastle running off in a hurry to tell King George he had discovered that Cape Breton was an island. This is an attractive subject, but, before an English audience, there should be, and there is only one subject near my heart, and that is not the Empire but the part of the Empire I belong to. That is the only part of supreme interest to me. I am an Englishman, of course, and I look upon the unity of the Empire as a great object. You could not have a greater object. It may seem an impudent thing for me to attempt to instruct a schoolmaster, but let me tell Mr. Welldon he is very much astray with regard to the formation of the British Empire. The British Empire was formed by individual effort, by the efforts of humble west country fishermen. They laid the foundation of the Empire. They began in Iceland and carried on the work in Newfoundland, and the history of Newfoundland and the foundation of the Empire goes back a hundred years before Mr. Welldon began. For that I have the highest authority, the authority of one of the greatest men the Empire ever produced, Sir Walter Raleigh. You believe in the unity of the Empire, and, as I have said, you could not have a greater object. But just now there is one little hitch in regard to the unity of the Empire. The Empire can only be united by its large detached pieces coming together in Australia, West Indies, Africa. But there is another part, North America. It should be united. I do not want to tell any official secrets, but I think, in the present condition of affairs, if North America is not united, it will be a scandal. On whom the blame will fall I do not say, and I do not know; but if this movement towards the unity of the Empire is a failure, it will be a grave disaster.

Mr. G. R. PARKIN, M.A.: It has been to me a matter of deep interest to see and hear the Head Master of Harrow here to-night. It is about four years ago—I mention this to explain to you what seems to me the full meaning of his presence to-night—that he led me into that noble speech-room at Harrow before 600 of his boys. He told me they had an hour off from studies, and they looked upon this lecture-hour as a part of their recreation. As I had several large maps on the wall it rather troubled me, because it looked very much like a geographical lesson, so I had to fall back on my wits to awaken their interest. So I said: “Boys, this looks like a geographical lesson, and I have been a schoolmaster myself twenty years, but before you give up all hope of some evening’s recreation let me mention something to you.” And I told them of a banquet that had just been held. The Lord Mayor had been entertaining Her Majesty’s Ministers. In his opening speech, the Lord Mayor—the man who was at the head of the mightiest city in the world—mentioned that he was an old Harrow boy. Lord Knutsford, then at the head of the whole of our vast Colonial system; Mr. Stanhope, who was managing the army that secured this great Empire, and Lord George Hamilton, at the head of the navy, all got up and said they too were old Harrow boys. I said: “If Harrow is going to do this, the sooner you get out your big maps and study them the better.” With this view of their relation to the subject, you can imagine that the boys were interested as I tried to picture to them what the Empire was. I never had an audience that listened with more fixed attention. I mention this to emphasise what it means to have at the head of one of our great public schools, which trains our ruling classes, and turns out statesmen in such large proportions, a man who is so disposed to spread and elevate this great Imperial idea. More than that, in much visiting of the great public schools, I have been convinced there is no greater turning point with regard to the future of the Empire than catching the mind and enthusiasm of these boys, because out of these schools spring, in the main, the future rulers of the Empire, and to influence them in the right direction is of supreme importance. For these reasons this Institute is right in welcoming with the greatest enthusiasm a speech such as we have heard to-night. Mr. Welldon made one very striking and searching remark. If, he said, “the telegraph had existed in the great days of the foundations of this Empire, we might not have had the Empire that we have.” What does that mean? It means that we have an Empire in which the supreme governing power is decided

entirely by the votes of people influenced by the local issues that prevail in these islands; that had these local issues and had party spirit had their full sway and their immediate influence in those days, the great Viceroys whom we sent out might not have had that free hand in building up the Empire that they had. Hence, if we are to maintain a great Empire we must adapt our minds to new conditions, and take care that, no matter how rapidly the telegraph works, we shall have such an educated opinion at home equal to the greater responsibilities thrown upon it. This lays an important duty on all of us, and not least on the heads of our great public schools, for if they will only teach this lesson to their boys—who are likely to be the leaders of the democracy—that they must rise above mere party faction, that they must not only have large Imperial instincts themselves, but must go down to the masses and appeal to them on broad natural grounds, we shall have gone a long way towards showing that a great democracy can also be a ruling Empire for good throughout the world. One point I would like to mention in this audience, where there is a large proportion of ladies and gentlemen who come from the Colonies. A previous speaker dwelt with emphasis on the necessity of the people of this country studying the geography of our vast Empire. I want to say to my fellow-colonists that that is another side to this question. How shall I express it? Mr. Cecil Rhodes has been mentioned. It was once mentioned to him, I am told, that one of the great Colonies of the Empire had given up the study of British history on account of questions arising in local politics. His remark was that “it was enough to damn the soul of any Colony.” I ask you to carry home the thought which lies behind that expression. Any Colony which allows itself, collectively or individually, to break the link of those great national traditions which they possess as a right, is losing the greatest power and stimulus and means of elevating itself that any young community ever possessed. I wish that every Colonist would spend quite as much energy in his Colony urging people to study and imbue themselves with the great and glorious traditions of English freedom and liberty, as they do in ridiculing Englishmen for their ignorance of Colonial geography and history. It has been remarked by a previous speaker, as a matter of regret, that great English head masters are constantly being lifted into the position of bishops and archbishops. When, as I suppose will be the case some day, the gentleman who has addressed us enters into such a higher position he will find himself face to face with what is wanted quite as much as anything else—



a statesmanship in the Christian Church which will organise the enormous forces which this Empire can wield in the way of moral influence, and of bringing the moral impact of this country to bear with full force on those connected with it. This is another vast question, and Mr. Welldon will find there also abundant employment for the Imperial spirit shown in his address to-night. A distinguished thinker has remarked that the most probable dissolvent of this Empire will be ignorance. To those who feel this, it must be an immense satisfaction to have heard the Head Master of Harrow speak as he has spoken to-night, for it shows that ignorance is not likely to prevail in one great centre of English education.

Mr. G. R. GODSON referred to the improper pronunciation of the Latin and Greek languages as at present taught in English schools, and considered it to be the duty of the heads of schools to rectify their teaching in this respect; and also that, the principle of half a loaf being better than none, the decimal system should be adopted up to such time as the duodecimal system could be taken in hand. The English climate assisted Englishmen in the way of educating them to sudden changes and various sorts of climates, it being of such a variable nature, and thus giving them an advantage over other nationalities in this respect.

The CHAIRMAN: In rising to ask you to accord your most cordial thanks to Mr. Welldon, I shall not say more than a word or two. I am sure you will all agree with me that we have listened to a most interesting and instructive lecture, and that we have had a very interesting and instructive discussion. I congratulate you, and I congratulate Mr. Welldon, on the audience he has had to hear him. I congratulate him also on the distinguished persons amongst us. We have Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, the Governor-Elect of South Australia, and I am sure I shall not be transcending my powers and functions if I say we offer him our sincere congratulations on his appointment, that we welcome him here to-night, and that we wish him God-speed on his journey and a useful and happy period of administration in that great Colony. We have also here my old friend, Sir Robert Herbert, from whom I have learnt not a few things, and whom I always look upon with great awe, wondering how it is possible for one human being to know so much about so vast a subject as the British Empire and yet remain in tolerably good health. Mr. Welldon has pointed out one fact, a very evident fact, that never occurred to me before, that the two great periods of Colonial extension and consolidation have taken place under the

reigns of two Queens. I hope that noticeable fact may have a soothing effect on some of those products of modernity who seem to think that somehow the mere male creature has acquired a too great preponderance in the affairs of the world. I have no doubt in creating the Empire men had something to do with it. The lecturer laid a great stress, and rightly so, on the points in our national character that have enabled us to create this great Empire. As a matter of fact, the men who created the Empire had not the slightest idea of what they were doing. They did not so because they wanted to create an Empire, but because they could not help themselves. They did it from self-interest, and the national characteristics in them compelled them to do it in a masterful way, and in a way that has been successful. These characteristics he described as honesty, self-reliance, and a sense of duty and courage. I believe it is mainly summed up in the word courage. I do not mean ordinary physical courage, which I have no doubt is pretty evenly shared out amongst all races of men, but the higher form of courage which enables men to take responsibility, to act in difficult circumstances, perhaps quite alone; the kind of courage which enables a man with a mere handful of supporters to administer an enormous population and affairs like those of our Indian Empire. It is that, and also, I believe, our honesty. Foreign nations are apt to describe us as being perfidious in our foreign politics. My own impression is that what they look upon as the effect of extreme cunning is really the effect of exceeding simplicity of character. We do things perfectly simply, and they think we have a very deep motive for it when we have none at all; however, there can be no doubt the great fact that an Englishman's word can be relied upon has done more for us with the native races in all parts of the world than perhaps any other characteristic. I will not detain you with any further criticism of this most admirable paper, and will now ask you to return your most cordial thanks to the Lecturer.

The Rev. J. E. C. WELLDON: I am sure it is not necessary for me to say more than a very few words of thanks, for I have already addressed this meeting at almost excessive length, and it is necessary, moreover, for me to return to my sphere of labour, for I shall be in school to-morrow at a time perhaps when everybody here will be in bed. I simply undertook to read the paper because I was asked to read it, and I have done my best. It only remains to ask you to pass a cordial vote of thanks to the noble lord who has taken the chair to-night.

An Afternoon Meeting was held in the Library of the Institute on Tuesday, May 28, 1895, when Mr. John Hotson, of Melbourne, read a Paper on

## AUSTRALIAN STOCK PASTURES AND BRITISH CONSUMERS.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B., in the Chair.

### [ABSTRACT.]<sup>1</sup>

THE author said that no country in the world could afford to supply meat as cheaply as Australia. The difficulties of distance from the world's markets had been overcome. Freights were being reduced, and the other charges were adjusting themselves. During his stay in this country he had been convinced that a great future lay in the development of the provincial trade in centres such as Manchester and Glasgow, where extensive cold-store accommodation had been provided by the municipal authorities with the object of encouraging the Australian trade. The consumption of frozen meat in the United Kingdom has increased to eight per cent. of the total beef and mutton used. Nearly one-fourth of the total mutton supply in Great Britain is imported frozen. Australia sends five per cent.; New Zealand, eleven per cent.; River Plate, nearly seven per cent. The arrangements of the growers for the breeding and rearing of the million sheep annually exported from Australia, and the two millions from New Zealand, were designed to meet the requirements of English taste. It was not very many years since good mutton was turned into manure or thrown away after the fat had been extracted. Such is the abundance of the country that before the export trade was organised ewes were boiled down in millions. Initiated in 1880, the Australian meat trade has grown to three millions of carcasses annually. The Continental countries were at present closed, as the agrarians were in the ascendant; but a great deal was expected from Great Britain. The better working classes were discarding old prejudices, and buying the meat as Australian, and in the autumn improved prices were expected. A number of defrosting processes had been invented. At present these had chiefly been applied to beef, and it was believed that Queensland defrosted beef could be brought into formidable competition with American chilled. Queensland defrosted beef was at present selling at 1*d.* per lb.

<sup>1</sup> A copy of the Paper itself is preserved in the Library, and is always available for reference.

In butter surprising progress had been made. In 1893 Australia sent 100,000 cwt. of butter, valued at slightly over 500,000*l.*, to the English market. In the present year 213,000 cwt. have been sent, and the total value reached has been 970,401*l.* The output has thus been doubled, and, despite the low prices ruling, the value record shows a corresponding increase. For this improvement Victoria was chiefly responsible, as the exports from the other Colonies have slightly declined. In three years the Danes had increased their output of butter by four thousand tons, as compared with Australia's fifty thousand. For the season just closed the Australian shipments have increased: Tasmanian 100 tons; South Australian 400; Victoria 2,200. Australia looked forward with confidence to the day when she would occupy the first position among the butter-producing countries of the world. Colonists felt that they were doing a legitimate business in all their produce undertakings, and that as British children they should receive cheer and direct encouragement from the Mother Country in ways that no foreigners need anticipate.

A discussion followed, in which the following took part: The Hon. Duncan Gillies (Agent-General for Victoria), Mr. E. M. Nelson, Mr. Matthew C. Thomson, Mr. H. Reynolds, Mr. C. Pharazyn, and the Chairman. Votes of thanks to the Reader of the Paper and the Chairman were passed.



## EIGHTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Eighth Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, June 11, 1895, when Sir William C. F. Robinson, G.C.M.G., read a Paper on "Western Australia."

The Right Hon. the Marquis of Lorne, K.T., G.C.M.G., a Vice-President of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 41 Fellows had been elected—viz. 9 Resident and 32 Non-Resident—making 119 elected since January 1, as compared with 99 for the corresponding period of last year.

Resident Fellows :—

*Frank Blofield, Albert Bruce-Joy, Alfred Burnett, George Jameson, James Watson Knight, S. Papenfus, Alexander D. Smith, Jacobus Van Ryn, P. Leslie Waterhouse, M.A., A.R.I.B.A.*

Non-Resident Fellows :—

*James Batty (Transvaal), Oscar P. Beck (Western Australia), Edmond B. Berdoe-Wilkinson (Straits Settlements), Capt. N. Grech Biancardi (Malta), John S. Brunton (New South Wales), Frederic Byrd (Mauritius), Evaristo Castaldi (Malta), J. M. Clark (Canada), George de la Juveny (South Australia), C. K. Digby-Jones (Nova Scotia), Philip B. Eastwood (Transvaal), G. Eliot Elliott, J.P. (New Zealand), G. C. Fitzpatrick (Transvaal), Edwin H. Flack (Victoria), Malcolm A. C. Fraser (Western Australia), Joseph J. Godfrey (Cape Colony), A. R. Goldie (Victoria), Oswald Hughes (South Australia), Hon. Edward Langton (Victoria), Horace S. Liddle (Transvaal), Henry B. Liebmann (New South Wales), Dr. Norman MacLean (Transvaal), Emile Nathan (Transvaal), Edward Nundy (Lagos), Edward Pope (Queensland), Arthur H. Reid, C.E., F.R.I.B.A. (Transvaal), Hamilton Relly (Transvaal), Claus E. Schaumann (Mashonaland), C. Erskine Simpson (Transvaal), G. D. Smith (British Bechuanaland), H. de Villiers Steytler (Transvaal), A. de Sales Turland (Transvaal).*

It was also announced that donations to the Library of books, maps, &c. had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies, and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN : As this is the last meeting of the Session, I have been asked to give a short *résumé* of the work of the Institute during the Session. It is a Session that has been remarkable for the variety and interest of the subjects discussed. The Institute has

been addressed by a gifted lady—Miss Flora Shaw—whose name is known throughout the Colonies; by the Governor of British New Guinea, who has done so much for the development of that part of the Empire; by one of the most prominent Delegates to the Ottawa Conference; by the Head Master of Harrow; by the Director of the Natural History Museum; by the Finance Minister of New Zealand; by the Bishop of Grahamstown, who is an authority on all that relates to South Africa; by Captain Younghusband, of Chitral; by a Member of the Executive Council of Hong Kong; and by leading colonists from Australia, British Guiana, Cyprus, &c. I am sure you will agree that our grateful thanks are due to all of them for preparing the elaborate and carefully considered Papers that have been read to the Institute, thus contributing to spread abroad the most recent and trustworthy information respecting the Empire. As to the distinguished lecturer of this evening, you are aware that Sir William Robinson has administered various important Governments for more than thirty years. He has on previous occasions borne witness to the resources of his great Colony. He has told us how many of our streets are paved with West Australian timber. Certainly we get on very well on that pavement. To-night, perhaps, he will tell us if he thinks our paving West Australia with English gold will make us get on equally smoothly and equally fast. One of the great advantages we have in having such distinguished gentlemen to represent the crown of Great Britain in the Dependencies and Colonies lies, at all events, in this—that these gentlemen can put their finger upon those resources in the various Colonies which in their opinion are worthy to have British capital employed upon them; and we may know from what they say whether they think we should entirely trust a particular class of enterprise in any Colony, with which Colony they have, of course, a very intimate acquaintance. For our part, in England we are thorough believers in Australia. We believe that no part of Australia—no majority in any one of those great Colonies—would any more dream of repudiating their obligations than would any body of Englishmen assembled within five miles of the Hôtel Métropole. We thoroughly believe in them and in their future. We believe also in their ultimate union, and that it will not be necessary for our new naval friends, the Japanese, to make any demonstration off the harbours of Fremantle, or Sydney, or Melbourne in order to convince Australia she must in time unite and fulfil that destiny, which evidently belongs to her, of being the ruling Power of the southern seas.

Sir William Robinson then read his Paper on

## WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

I PROPOSE in this Paper, which you have honoured me by inviting me to read, to refer more particularly to the events and records of my third administration of the Government of Western Australia. I must admit that when I first landed at Fremantle, some twenty years ago, I had no comforting premonition, like Whittington, that I should be thrice the Governor of the Colony. Possibly, at that time, had I been warned of the fate in store for me I should not have been fired with the hope and ambition of the future Lord Mayor of London, for I confess that my first impressions of the great Western Colony were neither encouraging nor stimulating. There was little or no indication of the greatness yet to come. All was primitive, scarcely promising. Officialdom held its sway, and the Governor was the Alpha and Omega of the community. His powers were almost autocratic, and it was only his sense of right and reason which prevented him from becoming a despot. Not an appointment of the humblest description but had to be personally approved by him, and his patronage was virtually only limited by the means and the departmental requirements of the Colony. There was no communication with the Eastern Colonies or the Mother Country save by the mail steamers which at that time called only once a month instead, as now, of once a week at Albany. There was no telegraph line to South Australia, and no submarine cable from Broome. There was no railway from Albany to Perth, but the journey of three hundred miles or so was made over country roads in what, for the sake of politeness, was called a coach, but which might properly have been styled a bone-shaker and liver-disturber, the time occupied in the journey varying from sixty hours to something within a week, making allowances for the accidents, which were of not infrequent occurrence, and which, at any rate, gave to the journey the charm of novelty and excitement which we now miss on the excellent railway line constructed by the West Australian Land Company. But what a change has happened in a couple of decades! A few weeks ago I left the Perth Railway Station, a really commodious and fine structure, the platform of which was crowded with well-dressed people, and was conveyed over a truly excellently laid and managed railway to Albany in something less than seventeen hours. At the latter place I received telegrams from my friends in Perth, and sent messages of friendship to them and to the Eastern Colonies. I was the recipient of cable messages from the old country, and when I got on

board one of the magnificent mail steamers which now call at Albany every week, but which, it is anticipated, will in a very few years call at Fremantle, I was positively besieged for information of the golden land I had just left behind me. Some of the questions so frequently asked of me I hope to reply to in this Paper, though I do not intend to overburden it with dryas dust details, and will only quote such statistics as may be necessary to satisfy you as to the progress and development of the Colony. I may not be able to avoid altogether some repetition of remarks of mine which have appeared in the Press since my arrival in London ; but as my text has been on each occasion the same, it will be difficult, if this Paper is to be at all complete in itself, to avoid all reference to what I have already said ; and as I must certainly disclaim any pretension to original treatment of my subject, I hope you will make excuses if any of my hearers should detect that I have made use again of lectures delivered elsewhere.

I remember being invited to lecture during my administration of the Government of South Australia on my experiences as a Colonial Governor, and saying of the Government of Western Australia as I left it in 1882, after my second period as its Governor, that it was neither flesh, fowl, nor good red herring. At that time the Colonists desirous of change, but afraid to venture too far, had introduced what was, no doubt, the thin edge of the wedge. They had acquired a good deal of power, but that power was not accompanied by corresponding responsibility, and it was plain that such a state of things could not last if true progress was to be made. Nevertheless, it endured for something like eight years after I had left, until the demand for self-government became too urgent and was too well grounded to be ignored and denied. It gave me much pleasure (when I gave up the acting governorship of Victoria and returned for a brief time to England) to support the delegates from Western Australia who had been sent home to back up with their arguments and advice the request for responsible government which had been formally made by the Legislature of the Colony. I found in Lord Knutsford and other members of the Government of the day gentlemen who well understood the position, and who were very anxious to hear all that we had to say on the matter, and if our arguments prevailed with them—as I have reason to believe they did—I can only say that the result has more than justified the decision which was arrived at by the Imperial Government. The honour then devolved upon me of inaugurating in Western Australia the new Constitution, and I undertook the task—egoistic as the



statement may appear—without any serious misgivings. But then it was not the question of my own fitness that occurred to me. My long experience of Colonial communities, and especially of the Australian provinces, had convinced me that Britishers and their descendants are always thoroughly capable of looking after themselves and their country, and the greater the difficulties by which they are faced, the stronger their determination to overcome them, and the greater, as a rule, their success. There were many who laughed at the idea of forty thousand people or less being entrusted with a million square miles of territory and the entire control of their own internal affairs. I was not among those who laughed, for I knew the people. Few were better aware of the severe trials and vicissitudes which they had so bravely and uncomplainingly faced in the past. The gold had been tried by fire, and I think you will have to admit with me that it has proved itself to be the true metal. Endued with the greatest powers and responsibilities which can be given to a Colonial community under our Constitution, no one can deny that the people of Western Australia have proved themselves equal to the situation. It is idle to say that Western Australia would have advanced whatever the form of government. With a full knowledge of the different types of Colonial government, I have no hesitation in saying that the present position of Western Australia is due in no small degree to honest and progressive government, and that without that government her position might have been very different at the present day. On me devolved the interesting and important duty of appointing the first Premier and the first Legislative Council or Upper House of the Colony. For the former position, after very careful consideration of the political circumstances, I selected Mr. (now Sir) John Forrest, and neither I nor the country has any reason to regret the choice. The political situation suggested his selection at the time, and he has proved himself thoroughly equal to the position, whilst in his colleagues and in the members of Parliament he has found loyal and able supporters. It was, I can assure you, a deeply interesting task to launch the new ship of State in Western Australia, and it is now my pride and pleasure to see it safely sailing into the haven of success.

And now for a few of those facts and figures from which I hope you will not shrink. I would that it were given me to surround such details with the glamour of a Gladstone or a Goschen. Nevertheless I hope to be able to fully convince you before I quit this platform that Western Australia presents a record of advancement during the last four years—the period during which she has been self-

governing and free to work out her own destiny—which few, if any, countries can surpass or even equal. I have to add me the returns and reports of the Registrar-General, which are, of course, as unassailable as the character of the late Mrs. Cæsar. At the end of 1890, or a couple of months after the proclamation of responsible government, the population of the Colony was only 46,290, and at the present moment it is estimated that it exceeds 90,000, or an increase of nearly one hundred per cent. in rather more than four years! The revenue has also increased in the most marvellous fashion. In 1890 it was £414,314, and at the present rate of receipts the Colonial Treasurer anticipates receiving over a million sterling for the financial year ending on June 20 next, an increase of more than one hundred per cent. In connection with the revenue receipts, I may mention that the day I was leaving Perth I was entertained by the Mayor and citizens, and the Premier, who was present, gave me the striking piece of information that the revenue for the current month was about equal to what it was for the whole year when I landed in the Colony twenty years ago. The revenue for last February, let me add, showed an increase of about one hundred per cent. on the amount received for the corresponding period of 1893. At present every man, woman, and child in the Colony is contributing something like £10 per head to the revenue; but although it might be inferred from this that the community is overtaxed, and the cost of living high, I can only say, after wide and recent experience of the other Australian provinces, that there are no more contented and well-to-do people south of the Equator than those of Western Australia. You must judge a community as well as an individual by your own experiences and impressions, and mine are that Western Australia is a well-to-do community, full of hope, of energy, and of life.

If there is one thing more than another which must strike the new arrival and the inquirer into the conditions of the Colony, it is the large amount of internal development which has been accomplished by what even now is but a mere handful of people. The telegraph penetrates into the remotest situations, and though Coolgardie and the Murchison were only discovered a couple of years or so ago, they are now in telegraphic touch with the whole world. I find that in 1893 there were 4,303 miles of telegraph wire open, and at the present time there are fully 5,000 miles—a wonderful record indeed. At the present time there is a total mileage of Government railway lines open in the Colony of 570, whilst the private lines, including the Great Southern and Midland lines,

extend over 572 miles, making a total of 1,142 miles of railway now open for traffic in Western Australia. The Murchison and Coolgardie lines, for which tenders have been called, will add about 600 miles more, so you will admit that in this direction also the people of Western Australia are not deficient in enterprise. Since I resumed the government of the Colony in 1890, nearly 500 miles of railway have been opened. What will be of great interest to the British investor is how these lines are managed and are paying. I can therefore say that shortly before leaving Perth I learned with great satisfaction that a profit of £50,000 which was anticipated by the Minister of Railways on the working of the State lines up to the end of June next had been fully reaped up to the end of December last. I have as my authority for this interesting statement the *West Australian* newspaper, and the statement has not, I am glad to say, been contradicted. The Government railways are being worked well and profitably, which in view of all things, especially the still limited population, is eminently satisfactory.

Amongst the important public works in progress is one for the conversion of the Port of Fremantle into a safe and commodious harbour. At present, as you know, the mail steamers call at Albany—a really magnificent harbour, than which there are few, if any, better in the southern seas. But the disadvantage is that the chief port of call in the Colony is more than 300 miles from the metropolis and seat of Government. At present, the steamers go past Fremantle to Albany, and then the mails have to be brought back again to Perth. Steps are being undertaken to attract the ocean liners into what ought by geographical position to be the chief port of the Colony, and to this end close on a million sterling is being spent in building breakwaters at the north and south heads of the estuary of the river Swan, in opening up the river and making commodious docks and wharves within the mouth. The scheme has been prepared by the Engineer-in-Chief of the Colony, who has had large experience in harbour construction in New Zealand, and it is generally regarded as fraught with the strongest hopes of success. When we bear in mind what Melbourne and Adelaide have done in the matter of opening up their rivers, which are not in the least degree comparable with the wide and beautiful Swan, there is every reason to hope for the ultimate success of the scheme. At any rate, so sanguine is the Premier of the result that he induced the last Australasian Postal Conference at Hobart to agree to a resolution requesting the mail steamer companies to make Fremantle a port of call when the harbour there is rendered



suitable for the purpose. The work of harbour and wharf construction is proceeding at a rapid rate, and it is expected that the whole scheme will be completed before the end of the present century. With harbour works at Fremantle and a line of railway across the continent tapping the great Eastern Goldfields, it is not difficult to foresee the future which lies before the great Western Colony.

It will naturally be asked at what expense to the country and by what means these great public works to which I have referred are being constructed. Well, Western Australia, like her other Australian sisters, has not hesitated to come to the Mother Country for the aid which most kind parents extend to their deserving offspring. I find from the Year-book that the total amount of money raised on behalf of the Colony in London up to the close of 1893 was £2,911,198, which, deducting debentures redeemed to the value of £38,100, left a floating debt on December 31, 1893, of £2,873,098. Subtracting from this the amount of the accrued sinking fund on the same date, viz. £129,099, left the net indebtedness of the Colony on the day mentioned at £2,743,999, or at the rate per head of the total population of £43 17s. 11½d. The first loan ever raised by the Colony was in 1872 for £35,208, the rate of interest being then fixed as high as six per cent.; although Western Australia was then a Crown Colony, and might by some be considered to offer better security than even she can at present. In 1873 and 1875 two more small loans were raised, bearing interest at five per cent. For another loan raised in 1878 the interest was reduced to 4½ per cent., and for the subsequent loans raised, in 1881, 1882, 1884, 1888, and 1891, the rate of interest was further reduced to four per cent., showing, it is fair to say, an increased confidence on the part of the British investor in the Colony and its prospects. The total amount of interest on loans paid by the Colony during 1893 amounted to £100,386, which, with the sum of £13,982 carried to the sinking fund, made a total charge on the revenue of £114,368, or 20·40 per cent. of the total revenue received, and 17·85 per cent. of the total expenditure. The balance brought forward from general revenue at the commencement of 1894 was £30,768; the total revenue for last year was £894,447, and the present year was commenced with a balance in the Treasury chest of £138,883, or more than enough to pay the interest of the entire public debt, which on December 31 last amounted to £3,232,254. The financial year of the Colony terminates on June 30, and the Treasurer estimates that he will have collected by that time over a million



sterling. This is a wonderful achievement, you must admit, for a population of less than 100,000.

The population of the Colony is, as will be observed from what I have already said, increasing very fast, but as yet the large and steady stream of emigration from the Mother Country has not set in to Western Australia. Nevertheless, we receive an addition of a few hundreds every month from the old country, and my observation induces me to say that the mistake is not being made of despatching to the new world those who have failed in the old, but that Great Britain is sending to the golden West some of her best men. We are getting all classes, save the worst—from the peer to the ploughman—and I have had sitting at my table at Government House a collection of men of rank, ability, and high achievement who would grace any board, whether of hospitality or company direction. The Colony is, in fact, at a most interesting stage in her history, and it is pleasant to live in a community in which the pulsations of progress are so marked, and where everything is so hopeful and prosperous—where there is little or no poverty save of the preventible description which overtakes the careless and indifferent. If I were asked whether Western Australia offered a good field for men of means, muscle, brains, energy, and industry, I should unhesitatingly say that I know of no country which displays a fairer field for enterprise and industry of almost every description.

But perhaps I am somewhat anticipating what ought to be my closing observations, so I will say a few words about the Colony's leading industries and resources. First and foremost comes gold-mining, about which, no doubt, some of my hearers can tell me even more than I can tell them, for I see around me many who have done a great deal to develop the mineral resources of Western Australia. I think the gold returns are the best indication of the Colony's auriferous resources. Last year the total value of gold exported from the Colony, or rather declared for export at the Customs, was valued at over three-quarters of a million sterling, and it is anticipated that this year will witness an enormous increase in the output. From the Pilbarra in the north to Dundas in the south valuable machinery is being erected on leading properties, in most of which good British money has been largely invested, and which I confidently hope and believe will yield large returns in many cases. When the different batteries are at work, turning out the gold regularly, as some of them are already doing, it follows that the gold yield must increase with almost astonishing rapidity ;

and it is estimated by some that the output this year will double that of 1894, and amount to a million and a half sterling in value. New reefs are being found in all directions almost daily ; in fact, information of fresh discoveries becomes almost monotonous in its regularity, especially to residents in the Colony, and they, like the *blasé* pleasure-seeker, are hankering after new excitements. Indeed, the people of Perth need the discovery of a valley of diamonds or a veritable mountain of gold to stir their pulses and thrill them with excitements. As for wonderful specimens from this or that locality, they are positively surfeited with them, and scarcely a man but is able to show you a lump of glittering quartz or a bright little nugget which some fortunate friend has given him. It must not be thought that West Australians do not fully appreciate and recognise the good fortune which has overtaken them, but I have endeavoured to make it clear to you that the name of the "Golden West," which is now applied to the Colony, as it was years ago to the country across the Atlantic, is no misnomer. You know, as I have already remarked elsewhere, that the declared goldfields extend from Kimberley in the north to Dundas in the south, and the value of the gold that lies hidden there he would indeed be a bold man who should venture to predict. The fields have been reported upon with high favour by the most eminent authorities. It has now been pretty conclusively demonstrated that the Murchison and Coolgardie fields are practically one, together comprising an auriferous area of over 100,000 square miles, or more than three times the size of Ireland. Over these fields at least 20,000 men are scattered in all directions, about 4,000 being centred at Coolgardie itself. One of the principal drawbacks to mining and prospecting in certain localities has been the scarcity of water for both domestic and mining purposes. But a great deal has been done by both the Government and private companies in the direction of conservation of the rain which falls from the clouds and the condensation of the superficial and for the most part salt supplies which abound over the Coolgardie district. As the shafts are being deepened, subterranean water—a good deal of it drinkable—is being discovered, and it is the opinion of experts that by means of one or other of the various schemes which have been propounded, the water difficulty, which has stood in the way of mining for a time, will soon disappear. Then, too, it must be remembered that there are dry processes as well as wet for the separation of the precious metal from the ores with which it is associated, and these have to be given a full and fair trial at Coolgardie and in parts

of the Murchison district, which is, however, exceptionally well watered. It is perhaps not necessary for me to say more on this most interesting subject than to add the hope and the firm belief that Western Australia will before long realise the highest hopes which have been raised in regard to her prospects as a gold-producing country.

The Colony is fortunate in not having all its eggs in one basket. There are the great pearl fisheries of the north from which valuable shells and magnificent pearls are obtained to the value of many thousand pounds yearly, the export of pearls in 1893 being estimated at £30,000, and of pearl shell at £59,254. These fisheries are now being carefully protected from wasteful fishing and exhaustion, Mr. Saville Kent, an eminent pisciculturist, having been appointed Commissioner of Fisheries for Western Australia, where he is already accomplishing valuable work. The deep-sea fisheries off the coast are at present almost untouched, and quite undeveloped, but these are commencing to receive attention, and Mr. Saville Kent is also engaged in the interesting work of acclimatisation of certain fish in the rivers of the Colony, including salmon and trout. The pastoral industry of Western Australia has suffered somewhat of late years through a succession of severe droughts; but the pastures and flock have quickly recovered, and, but for the existing low price of wool, the sheep farmer would be as well off as ever. The quantities and values of wool exported in 1892 were 8,712,080 lb., valued at £326,703; whilst in 1893 the figures were 10,742,384 lb.; valued at £244,973; a very satisfactory increase, all things considered.

As to the timber resources of the Colony, I am glad to see that our karri and jarrah are increasing in favour in this country, and are being largely used in laying your streets. It is an old saying that there is nothing like leather, but I believe once its good properties for a variety of purposes become widely known, the proverb will be altered to, There's nothing like jarrah. It is certainly one of the toughest timbers in the world, and the most enduring for subterranean and submarine works of every description. Indeed, I look upon our forests as so important a physical feature, and as forming so large a portion of the material wealth of the Colony, that a few special words about the south-western part of the territory, where these giant timbers exist, may not be out of place. I refer, as you will understand, to that portion of the Colony which is bounded on the north by the railway from Perth to Beverley, on the east by the railway from Beverley to Albany, and on the south



and west by the sea. It has been estimated that our most valuable timber for commercial purposes covers an area of about 80,000 square miles, of which only a very small part extends beyond the limits of the division to which I now refer. There are other forest lands in the Colony, notably those of pine, or more properly cedar, on the north coast, which will probably supply the wants of the Kimberley district, and which are accessible for that purpose, but too distant from other parts of the Colony to have been available hitherto for use. Others there are which have been for the same reason useless, except for local purposes, being too distant from any port, but most of which will be made accessible by railways, as those on the watershed between Albany and Beverley and in the Blackwood district in the south to which the line is about to be extended from Bunbury.

Of timber for exportation there are six principal kinds, all being eucalypts; but to these might be added several acacias, banksias, and other trees, all of which have their economical uses, not to speak of sandalwood, now most plentiful to the east of the limit of our inquiry, and of which, when prices are favourable, large quantities are sent to China and Singapore. The first in importance of these eucalypts is that commonly known as the jarrah, or yarra, which is gradually finding its way into the markets of the world—the first not only because it is on the whole the most useful of the West Australia forest trees, but as covering the largest area, being the principal vegetable product over some 14,000 square miles. This tree attains to a large size, sufficient for all purposes of construction, is of handsome growth, straight and tall, but with the fault so common to the trees of Australia—it is not umbrageous. The white blossoms are, however, very beautiful, and produced in abundance, even when the tree is very young. The jarrah timber has been the subject of exaggerated praise and depreciation, and in either case not without some reason, having been found in some places to answer fully the claims made for it of strength and durability, while in others it has failed. The reason for this is not far to seek; like other timber it requires to be cut from trees growing on the proper soil—the ironstone gravel of the Darling range—at the proper season, and the proper age, and, moreover, certain parts of it are of inferior quality; it is also difficult to season, being liable to split in the process if care is not taken. The great and sudden demand which at one time was made for this timber induced, as I fear, its exportation to fulfil contracts as to quantity without sufficient regard to quality; but when the necessary care is



taken, it will be found to justify the encomium of Baron von Mueller, whom we all know as a competent authority, "that for the durability of its timber it is unsurpassed by any kind of tree in any portion of the globe," and under such circumstances it has three properties of great utility—it resists the marine teredo and the white ant, and is not affected by the oxidation of iron bolts or nails. The next in importance is the white gum, of which there are several varieties. It is the predominant growth on some 10,000 square miles, and crosses the eastern limit of the watershed. This tree, although it does not often exceed 100 feet in height, has been known to attain to a diameter of 17 feet. The wood is hard, and for some works very durable and valuable, especially for the uses of the wheelwright and machinist; it is remarkable as growing on inferior land, and especially in moist situations. The tree occupying the next largest area is the York gum, so called from having been first found in quantity near York, on the Avon. It is the principal forest product over some 2,400 square miles; its wood is remarkable for its toughness. Next in point of area of occupation, but first in size, and, as will, I think, be ultimately proved, not second in utility, comes the giant of these forests, the karri tree, which prevails over 2,800 square miles of the southwestern coast of Western Australia. The maximum height attained by this noble specimen of Australian trees is not less than 400 feet, some 300 of which are without a branch, and its diameter has been measured to 20 feet. Hitherto the timber of this tree has not been much known, even in West Australia, on account of its size, and the consequent difficulty of felling and reducing it to marketable and transportable dimensions; but there is little doubt that, by means of the works established at Augusta, near the mouth of the Blackwood, it will soon be better known. Its durability has been sufficiently established by accidental circumstances; it is more elastic than, and quite as hard as, the wood of the jarrah. Next in order is the red gum, for beauty of form and umbrageous foliage the pride of West Australian forest trees, predominating over an area of only some 800 square miles, but not infrequent elsewhere. The tree is lofty among eucalypts, and has not uncommonly a diameter of 10 feet at the base; its wood has been considered equal to jarrah, and its gum as a specific against dysentery. The tuart occupies the comparatively small area of 500 square miles in this district. It grows to a considerable size, often six feet in diameter, and very rapidly, on the sandy and limestone hills of the southern and western coasts, where, unfortunately,

it has been in many places destroyed, being that most ready to hand for domestic use among the early settlers, its remains testifying that what is now a treeless waste was once a verdant forest.

The wood of this tree is solid, and does not rend, and is used in shipbuilding. These are the principal timber trees, but these forests produce others of value for purposes of utility or beauty; for the latter, the *Eucalyptus ficifolia*, with its gorgeous crimson blossoms, is pre-eminent. Obviously the vast forests of the south-west of Australia form one of its most important physical features, as they are, and must continue, at least for many years, a primary source of wealth; but unless their conservancy go *pari passu* with their utilisation, it is to be feared that, like those of North-east America, they may ultimately disappear altogether, unless, like those of Southern India, they are restored by science, art, and labour. One is an example of entire denudation from neglect, but the latter of restoration by timely care. It is not so many years since the dock-yard at Bombay was supplied with teak from Moulmein. Now, under the scientific supervision of foresters, the neighbouring hill-country produces, as I understand, an abundance, both for use and exportation. The timber works in South-west Australia are increasing, the export becoming an important one.

The forest growth throughout that district is, as elsewhere, the cause of atmospheric action and reaction, producing a greater rainfall and a greater conservation of water by preventing evaporation from the surface of the ground. The average rainfall throughout the district approaches thirty inches; in other parts of the Colony it descends to one-half that quantity. There is this to be observed, however, that the valleys opening to the north, as the Avon, or to the west, as those of the coast from the Swan southward, being more exposed to the action of the sun, the surface evaporation is more rapid, and the waters therefore less permanent than in the south.

The coast districts of the south and west are in some respects similar, while yet they have characteristic differences. I may say a few words on both. In the floras the contrast is marked; the white gum and peppermint, so named from the scent of its leaves, were, and in less proportion are still, the principal trees of the west coast, until it approaches the district of the karri, which stretches across to the south coast, and is then continuous eastwards; but the special habitat of the karri is on the lower Blackwood and Warren, though gigantic specimens have been found as far east as on the Frankland.

A word must be said for the graceful peppermint with its drooping branches and long train of white blossoms, and more especially its verdant foliage, which, no doubt, was what proved so grateful to the eyes of the first British explorers of this coast, comparing it as they would do, with the russet green of the trees of New South Wales. There are few trees which grace the garden more than this beautiful tree. Besides these, a characteristic feature of the flora of the west coast is the black boy (*Xanthorrhœa*), common, indeed, throughout the country, but persistent in retaining its ground when others have been destroyed. Some day it may prove of economical utility. To this we may add the *Zamia*, which is found over the rough surfaces of the limestone, where worked into ridges and hollows by the action of the rain. The flora of the south coast has not only these, but additional characteristics peculiar to itself. There we find dense and almost impenetrable masses of what might be termed in England copsewood, with the varieties of eucalypts and other trees not known in other parts of the Colony. The wealth of vegetation here is easily accounted for by the southern exposure, and the nearer the approach of the rocky hills to the sea, and consequent abundance of fresh water. I have elsewhere remarked that this district, from the lower Blackwood eastward, has been esteemed by more than one competent judge as better fitted for settlement by Europeans, especially on account of its climate, than any other part of Australia.

The south is emphatically the country for the man of small capital and great industry, whether directed to agriculture, dairy farming, or horticulture. The fruits of our European gardens and green-houses are produced there spontaneously, but have hitherto received little cultivation, because a market was wanting. The same might be said of dairy produce, but the railway constructors will prove there, as elsewhere, great consumers, and the produce neither of gardens nor dairy will any longer want a market. If I term this district the garden of West Australia, I think I shall not be contradicted by those who know it. Other products of the Colony are guano, horses, sandalwood, skins and a few minor ones which I need not enumerate, so you will admit that the Colony is not deficient in resources. When to all this is added its undoubted agricultural capabilities, which have been much misunderstood and misrepresented in the past—that, as I have endeavoured to show, it is essentially the home of the vine, and offers the greatest possibilities as a wine-making Colony, and that all sorts of fruit, both tropical and sub-tropical, grow profusely, I have said enough, I hope, to convince you that Western Australia is far from the land of sand and sorrow which some unfortunate prospector described it to be.



In considering the condition and prospects of the Colony, one must not overlook the capabilities of the country opened up by the Midland Railway, running, as many of you know, from the pretty little town of Guildford, on the Swan, to Champion Bay. Important areas of land, much of it agricultural, and some of it said to be possessed of fine timber, are held by the Company which built this line, as in the case of the Great Southern Railway, on the land-grant system, and as I understand that the Company is on the eve of formulating comprehensive schemes for the settlement of their lands, we may reasonably hope that in the country between Perth and Champion Bay we shall witness an early and rapid development.

Thus far I have spoken almost exclusively of the natural features of the country. A few words before I close as to the condition of its towns and settlements may have some interest for you.

Perth, as you know, is the capital, and is situated about ten miles from Fremantle, at the mouth of the river Swan. Perth is the Adelaide of Western Australia, and Fremantle the Glenelg and Port Adelaide combined. With the exception of Sydney, I have seen nothing in Australia to equal the situation of Perth. The town contains now about 12,000 inhabitants, and has several excellent public buildings. Government House and the Town Hall, both erected by convict labour, are commodious and handsome, and when built, some thirty years ago, were considered in advance of the times. For its population the city covers an unusually large area of ground, but as the population increases, the vacant spaces will be built upon, and I quite believe that, what with its beautiful site and splendid climate, Perth will ere long become one of the most agreeable places of residence in Australia. It will always be the political capital of the southern part of the Colony, as distinguished from its tropical portions, and Fremantle, the shipping port of Perth and the central districts, will undoubtedly hold its own also. On the west side of the town there is a very beautiful hill with a not very beautiful name (Mount Eliza), on the summit of which is the service reservoir of the waterworks company. The water difficulty having thus been solved, picturesque red-brick houses, after the manner so popular in London now, have been creeping up the slopes of the hill, and are spreading themselves over the top. Standing there about sunset, when the lights and shadows are at their best, the scene is one to be remembered. To the north and east the Swan River may be seen encircling the town, and flowing away westward towards the sea. At one's feet lies the city with its numerous fine buildings and its



gardens a-glitter in the setting sun, while the background of the Darling range, about ten miles distant, and purple in the evening light, contributes to the charm of a panorama which can hardly be surpassed in Australia, if indeed in any part of the world. One cannot look down on the Swan from the now peopled heights of Mount Eliza without recalling the time when, so 'tis said, a party of French sailors, on exploration, and possibly acquisition, bent, pulled up in their boats as far as the bend of the river where the city of Perth now stands, and were then driven back to their ships by the unearthly croaking of the myriads of frogs which then infested the shores. I must confess that the note of the Swan River frog (of which some still exist) is not particularly musical, and would hardly create feelings of envy in the breast of the great Songstress of the south who has forged so delightful a link between the new country and the old; and yet I never can listen to a chorus of our frogs without a feeling of gratitude and pleasure, for, if tradition be not merely a myth, we owe it to their ancestorst hat the flag of Old England now floats over the fair city of Perth, and that the sway of our own beloved Queen-Empress extends to that distant land.

Descending the coast from Fremantle, the next town of importance is Bunbury, ninety miles from the Swan, and picturesquely situated on the west side of the entrance to Leschenault Inlet, in which debouch the Preston and Collie Rivers, with several smaller streams. The harbour is a tolerably safe one, being sheltered from all but the north-west winds. Bunbury is the capital of the district of Wellington, and a port for the shipment of timber, sandalwood, horses, and general produce. It is the outlet to a considerable tract of productive country, and possesses a fine jetty, built of jarrah timber, which affords facilities for the loading and discharging of vessels. The coastal steamers call at this port. The town is under municipal government, is already well provided with churches and schools, and will in course of time become an important place. It is connected by railway with Perth.

Thirty miles south of Bunbury we reach the pretty little town of Busselton, the capital of the agricultural district of the Vasse. Cereals do well in this neighbourhood. Couch grass thrives remarkably well, and it is not too much to say that the bulk of the sandy and apparently inferior country along the coast could be converted into valuable paddocks, capable of carrying large quantities of stock.

The climate of the Vasse is superb. The hot winds seem to stop short of this district; consequently the heat is seldom excessive, and as the cold is never so severe as in Tasmania, for instance, it may, I think, be said, without fear of contradiction, that the country from the Vasse to Albany enjoys one of the finest climates in the world. It is a land of flowing rivers, magnificent timber, and scenes that are grateful to the eye, and the traveller there is impressed with the conviction that what is now primeval forest will one day be the home of a large and prosperous population.

Fifty miles south from Busselton is Augusta, a very useful port at the mouth of the Blackwood River, in the neighbourhood of which one of our enterprising and respected citizens, Mr. M. C. Davies, has established extensive timber works. From this the coast trends eastward, and passing the mouths of the Warren and Frankland Rivers, Albany is reached, at a distance of about 180 miles from Augusta, and 360 from Fremantle. From Albany to Perth by road is 261 miles, and the country traversed by it is practically identical with that selected for the railway, with the exception that the road bends to the westward after passing the Williams, the railway line continuing north to Beverley, which is the south-eastern terminus of the Government railway. Of the journey by road from Albany to Perth but little need be said. In the first place, it is practically a thing of the past, and, secondly, it really differs but little from country travelling in other parts of Australia. The country inns at Kojonup (100 miles north of Albany), the Williams, and other points along the road are neither better nor worse than those in other similar places, while the road itself is by no means a bad one, considering the sparsely peopled country through which it passes. There are worse things in life than a three or four days' drive from Albany to Perth, for what with the exhilarating atmosphere, the park-like beauty of the scene in places, the wealth of bush flowers, with now and then a touch of the mysterious silence of a great Australian forest—to say nothing of an occasional shot at a kangaroo or a bustard—I have found the time pass pleasantly enough while travelling on that unjustly maligned highway.

I am greatly afraid that I may have wearied you with details, but I must admit that, as regards myself personally, everything connected with Western Australia is invested with peculiar interest, for some of the happiest years of my official life were spent there; and I like to think that feelings of friendship and regard

have been established between the people and myself which, at all events on my side, neither time nor distance can obliterate.

#### DISCUSSION.

The Hon. H. J. SAUNDERS, M.L.C., Western Australia: It has given me great pleasure, as a colonist of Western Australia, to be present this evening to listen to the admirable address which his Excellency has delivered to us. I am about to return to that Colony—in fact, I return on Friday night, and the same boat that carries me will take out copies of the Paper. I shall be able to tell the citizens of Perth and the colonists of the magnificent reception that has been accorded to his Excellency by this very influential gathering. I can assure you that our colonists will be highly gratified by the fact. Sir William is regarded as one of the oldest of the colonists, for, as he has told you, he first went there some twenty years ago; and I venture to say there is no man in England at the present moment who knows Western Australia better than he does. He has great faith in the Colony. I may say that I also have great faith in the Colony, where I have been for some twelve years. Sir William has spoken of its wonderful climate, and I may mention that I went out there to die, as my friends thought. I am happy to be able to tell you I am still alive, and am, in fact, a living example of the effect of the climate on the lungs. I think you will find that Western Australia is a sanatorium for your health as well as your pocket. By that I mean that if you believe in the Colony, if the people of England will only send out their capital to help us in developing the Colony, they will not suffer by having trusted in the colonists of Western Australia. You will derive benefit, and the Colony also will derive a benefit from it. Many ladies and gentlemen present will know that I am connected with the mining industry of the Colony. I have always had great faith in its mineral resources. I was one of the first who invested in the first gold mine found in the northern territory, Kimberley, and, needless to say, I lost my money. But I persevered. The Southern Cross was the first gold-bearing district found after that, and Fraser's was the first mine. Those who had lost money were bold enough and plucky enough to go on, and they had their return. That mine and other mines at Southern Cross are paying dividends—I do not say continuously, but every now and again—by milling ore that only yields at the rate of about ten penny-weights or less to the ton. That, I think, shows what can be done. It is hardly necessary for me to refer to the Coolgardie mines; they

are so well known ; but a cablegram has been received to-day by a friend of mine, which, I think, will be very good news for people in England and also for the Colony. It refers to the Londonderry mine, which, I think, is very well known in the City of London and in England. The message says : " Londonderry mine ; driving south level at a depth of one hundred feet. Ore richer than ever." That is exceedingly good news to me, not that I am personally interested in the mine in any way, but I am interested in the welfare of the goldfields of Western Australia, and anything that tends to show that the gold is still there will assist everybody connected with mining in that Colony. Our experience among these mines is that occasionally these rich shoots are lost, but if people have money, pluck, and enterprise to sink deeper and drive again for these rich shoots, nine times out of ten their efforts will be successful. I am thankful to think that the proprietors of the Londonderry mine have had the pluck to go on with the enterprise, and that they did not " chuck " it at once, as a lot of people imagined they would. I can fully endorse all that his Excellency has said in his Paper. I am satisfied he is well within the mark. There is a great scope in the Colony for people from England, especially working men ; in fact, I consider the Colony of West Australia is the workman's paradise. I know many instances of artisans—carpenters, bricklayers, labourers, and the like—who have gone out with very little capital, and who by their energy and skill have acquired a competence ; men who have been able to buy a bit of land and build their own houses and are now happy and prosperous colonists. What these men can do hundreds can do with energy and pluck. Of course there is a great deal of good land in the Colony, and the class of emigrants we want are people with some capital—farmers who have the means to start the farming industry—and I am sure they will succeed. On behalf of the colonists and myself I thank Sir William Robinson for his excellent Paper.

Mr. H. W. BOND : I listened with extreme pleasure to Sir William Robinson's comprehensive and graphic description of Western Australia. I have only had some twelve months' experience in the Colony, but by keeping one's eyes open one can see a good deal in that time, and I can fully endorse everything his Excellency has said. I should have been glad had something more been said with regard to the agricultural prospects of the Colony. One hears, of course, that the land was a land of sand and sorrow ; and having gone there with all the prejudices of a Queenslander, and being acquainted with the famous Darling Downs, I had formed



a very high standard of what agricultural land should be. But although my first impressions of Western Australia, after a few days' acquaintance, were not altogether gratifying, still I found that the Colony possessed some of the finest agricultural land, in my opinion, on the continent. I say with great confidence that Western Australia to-day is one of the most magnificent fields for the agriculturist that is to be found in the whole of Australia. Within one hundred miles of the coast you have the rain-belt of Western Australia, the rainfall varying from twenty to thirty inches in the year in the northern agricultural districts to forty inches in the south, as against eight or ten inches on the Murchison or Coolgardie goldfields. The history of Victoria is repeating itself in Western Australia. Agricultural enterprise received its initiative in Victoria from the opening of the goldfields. The same thing is happening in Western Australia to-day. The farmer who settles down on the magnificent lands on the Midland Railway gets the finest market at his back—a cash market without competition. The miner is a man who pays the highest price for his produce, and here are millions of acres of some of the finest land waiting for people with energy and enterprise to go out and cultivate it. It is, I consider, almost a crying shame that this country is not settled upon to-day and fulfilling its destiny. The thanks of the Colony and this Institute are certainly due to Sir William Robinson for his extremely interesting Paper; and I beg to second the vote of thanks proposed by the previous speaker.

Lieut.-General Sir J. BEVAN EDWARDS, K.C.M.G., C.B.: The intimation I received in the course of the evening that I should be expected to address the meeting rather prevented my following the Paper, as I had to think what I should say to you; but I gathered that in days gone by West Australia possessed an excellent means of defence in the frogs of the Swan River settlement. As, I suppose, those frogs have become less numerous, some other means of defence are now necessary. In his opening remarks the Chairman alluded to the possibility of Japan making herself so evident round the coasts of Australia as to lead to that early federation of the Colonies we all so much desire. I remember, after my visit to Australia, being taken seriously to task for suggesting in a letter to my friend Sir Henry Parkes—which immediately became public—that a demonstration on the part of our friends the Chinese might lead to that result. The forces of the Chinese have ceased to exist, perhaps, but there is a powerful naval nation not far away—the Japanese—who, I do not doubt, in times not far distant will show

their flag in the various Australian waters. Of course the defence of the Australian Colonies primarily depends on the British Navy, and so long as that navy commands the seas practically no defences of the Australian Colonies are necessary ; but if there should come a time when that navy does not completely command the seas, then some measure of defence would be absolutely necessary. If we lost command of the seas, the British Empire of course would cease to exist, and Australia would pass to the possession of the Power which became mistress of the seas. If any efficient defence of these Colonies is to be brought about, it cannot be done without a federal Government to direct its defensive forces. It should be remembered that in the defence of these Colonies there is no such thing as passive defence ; it must be active defence ; and I think it is the duty of these Colonies to establish forces—not necessarily very numerous, but forces of sufficient size and strength to support the navy of England in that attack on the enemy's bases which must take place in all parts of the world if we are ever to engage in a war with a naval power. I think we have a right to expect they will do this. No local defence of these Colonies can be carried out without the development of the communications of the Colonies, without the construction of railways running more or less through the length and breadth of them, because supposing Western Australia were threatened with attack—which involves, of course, that we have lost command of the seas—how are any forces to be moved from Sydney, or Melbourne, or from the eastern Colonies for the defence of Western Australia ? Such a thing is absolutely impossible, and that necessitates the construction of railways, which, I think, must take place before very long. Then, moreover, people would be able to travel from the eastern Colonies straight to Perth, and thence to Europe, thereby saving a considerable sea journey. I will only add that I wished to impress on you that no proper system of defence for the Colonies can be established without their federation.

Mr. W. SANDOVER : I consider that the thanks of the West Australian colonists are due to Sir William Robinson for the very interesting and able way in which he has shown the advantages of West Australia as a field for the investment of English capital. We colonists know that Sir William Robinson has always taken a very lively interest in, and always identified himself with, that Colony. During the recent temporary but severe financial troubles in the eastern Colonies he occupied the happy position of being the Governor of the only Colony of Australia that was not affected by them. It was during that time that the development of the gold-

fields of West Australia took decided steps forward; and it was no doubt on account partly of financial troubles elsewhere that the stream of English capital then was turned to West Australia, as for the time being a safer place in which to invest money. I agree with previous speakers in regretting that Sir William Robinson had not time to say more of the agricultural and viticultural prospects of that great Colony than he has been able to do. At present, of course, the interest of English investors is almost entirely monopolised with the mining industry. If I thought that West Australia had in the future to depend on mines alone, I should have a doubtful feeling about it. Of course I thoroughly believe in the mines; I believe they will be in existence for years, perhaps for a century; but in the building up of a new country one has to look further than that. I believe, speaking from knowledge—for I know West Australia well—that the Colony has some splendid opportunities for young Englishmen with capital. Somebody spoke of its being a paradise for working men; but I think it is more of a paradise for young educated Englishmen with capital. As to the vineyards, I may mention that an old and respected West Australian (Mr. W. D. Moore) told me that off one acre last year he got £200 worth of grapes. I do not say you can do that everywhere, but there are many chances for vineyards and fruit farms to be started. As has been pointed out already, there will be large markets for all these things: five or six steamers a week leave Adelaide and Melbourne with fruit products, grown in South Australia and Victoria, and all these products could be equally well grown in West Australia. People have taunted West Australians with not having developed their Colony; but I would point out that West Australia had not the capital. It was only when the goldfields were found that more money was brought into the place. My experience of West Australia covers only a period of some fifteen years; still, I have identified myself with the place, and I venture to say that, in regard to goldfields and agriculture and vines, West Australia will be one of the greatest, as she is now the largest, of the Australian Colonies.

MR. JOHN LOWLES: I have not been to West Australia myself, but my son, who was a successful mining student, is out there, and bids fair to be a successful prospector. I may claim, therefore, to have a special interest in the Colony. I desire to ask a question which, I think, is of general interest. I may mention that I happen to be contesting a metropolitan constituency, and although, as I have said, I have not been in West Australia, I have travelled



through Canada, and I find there is no subject that so much interests the working classes as that of our Colonial Empire. I have tested this before large audiences. I very much wish that the Colonial Institute, which is showing such vitality, would broaden its operations and send out lecturers to tell our people of the greatness of our Colonies and the variety of opportunities they present. When I get the Journal of the Institute I almost always, on going to my people, tell them something about the Papers that have been read. Sir William Robinson has told us there is room in West Australia for men with means, muscle, and brains. My own son is paying men £4 a week for their work out there. These are facts which ought to be known; and what I beg to suggest is, that the lecturer should tell us something more about the opportunities for working men. I mean unskilled men, but men of proved capacity—muscular capacity anyhow—who are willing to do an honest day's work for an honest day's pay.

The CHAIRMAN: It is now my pleasant duty to ask you to give a vote of thanks to Sir William Robinson for his interesting Paper. I think you will agree that these evenings are rendered very much more interesting in that we are allowed to discuss to a certain extent the subject of the Paper. I believe that is a procedure which has made these meetings popular and interesting, and added very much to their utility. You have heard to-night of a most interesting country, a country in most respects new. It is a country which, we are told, has the distinguished honour of having frightened Frenchmen with its frogs; and that human lungs as well as those of frogs are strong and sound there! You have heard also a good deal with reference to its wine. I would suggest that one very simple way of making that feature better known would be to send a little Australian wine into the room in which we meet subsequently, and I can assure you that every bottle will be strictly preserved for the consumption of those who attend. I sympathise very much with the remarks by Mr. Lowles with reference to the information which might be given to intending emigrants. A good deal has been done in recent years in that direction. The post-offices have comparatively recent and full information with regard to the capabilities and receptive capacities of the several Colonies for emigrants. I do not know that that information is full enough, and I cannot recall to my mind the exact sum required for an emigrant to reach West Australia. Perhaps we may hear to-night whether the Government of that Colony, which seems to be rolling in increasing riches, would be willing to give a grant in aid to those who pass the inspection of the Agent-



General, and who would bring capital—living capital—into that Colony. I suppose the cost of a passage will not be less than from £13 to £15, and that is a large sum for a working man, in whatever capacity he may have laboured. West Australia and Africa afford perhaps at the present moment two of the best outlets for labour-seeking employment, and we may be told whether something could not be done to make the passage a cheaper one than at present. I am sure you will all unite in expressing gratitude to Sir William Robinson for having taken the trouble to give us this Paper with regard to this most interesting, productive and useful country.

Sir WILLIAM C. F. ROBINSON, G.C.M.G. : There has been such an absence of adverse criticism as to anything I have said that I feel I have really very little to answer, and that I might very well confine myself to acknowledging the vote, and thanking you for the kind and complimentary reception you have been so good as to give me. There are, however, just one or two observations I will make in reply to what has been said. First, Mr. Bond seemed to regret that I had not said more on the subject of agriculture. Well, I did refer to it, briefly, it is true, but I referred to it in these words: "When to all this is added its undoubted agricultural capabilities, which have been much misunderstood and misrepresented in the past," and I went on to say the Colony has no need to fear for its future. I did not say very much on the subject because I took it for granted that everybody in this room, although they might know little about our timber land, were well aware that West Australia would not occupy the position she does to-day, and which we hope for her in the future, if she were not possessed of vast areas of agricultural land. Personally, I think it would be a terrible thing for the Colony if she were not possessed of these lands. What would become of the mining population, and where would the wealth the Colony is now acquiring go to if there were not good agricultural lands to fall back upon, and settle upon, and develop? In fact, the mines are now preparatory to the complete settlement and development of the agricultural lands; and I thoroughly endorse the remarks of those who say we do possess valuable agricultural lands, and nothing is more hopeful in the present condition and prospects of the Colony than the fact that men are now attracted to West Australia by means of the goldfields, who will presently settle on our agricultural lands. I may also say a word about the coal. On the Collie River, not far from Blackwood in the Bunbury district, there is a valuable coal seam, the extent of which I am not prepared to say at this moment, but the coal has been tried, and tried success-

fully, on the locomotives on our railways, and has completely fulfilled the expectations of those who were hopeful about it. It is being brought within reach of the market by means of railways constructed or about to be constructed. That again is a very important industry. A gentleman wished to know what were the prospects for working men going out to West Australia. It is, of course, desirable that a man going to settle in a new country should have some small command of money to help him over the early days, but if he has nothing but his own strong arms, he will do very well, provided he is industrious and sober. These are the principal qualifications for success in a new country, and certainly in West Australia. Of course, how he is to get there is another matter—whether by the assistance of his friends, or through some organisation, are matters on which I cannot touch just now. The Government of West Australia is not paying any portion of the passage money of the general emigrant just at present. For some reason or other it is not their policy to do so; they are assisting the passage of domestic servants, but not of the ordinary labourer. But supposing the ordinary labourer can find his way there, and that he is industrious and sober, all I can say is he will do very well indeed. Wages are high, and he need never want for employment in West Australia. As for the agricultural land, he can have it almost for the asking. We have a system of land tenure under which the working man can take up one, two, or three hundred acres at a merely nominal price. We go even further. There is recent legislation under which he can borrow money from the Government to spend on his land, and improve his holding, at a very reasonable rate of interest. So that although emigration is not being paid for by the Colony at this moment, every encouragement is given to men who do go there. And perhaps I may answer the question put to me by saying that for an industrious and sober man there is no part of the world in which he is likely to do better than in West Australia at present. As for information about the Colony, I feel confident that any one wanting information, a working man or any one else, will obtain all he requires by applying to the Agent-General at 15 Victoria Street. It only remains for me to express my great thanks to you for the reception you have given to me, and to assure you that the Colony I represent will be exceedingly gratified by it. They will be gratified also to know that the Marquis of Lorne has found time among his numerous engagements to preside over this gathering, and I beg to propose that we give him our best thanks.

The meeting then terminated.

## TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONVERSAZIONE.

The Twenty-Second Annual Conversazione of the Royal Colonial Institute (founded in 1868 and incorporated by Royal Charter in 1882) was held at the Natural History Museum, Cromwell Road, by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, on Thursday, June 27, 1895, and was attended by about 2,000 guests, representing all parts of the British Empire. The string band of the Royal Artillery, conducted by Cavaliere L. Zavertal, performed in the Bird Gallery; and the Ladies' Pompadour Band, conducted by Miss Eleanor Clausen, in the British Saloon. The electric light was specially introduced into the building for the occasion. Refreshments were served throughout the evening in the Refreshment Room, the Bird Gallery, and the South Corridor. The Central Hall was decorated with choice palms, and here the guests were received by the following Vice-Presidents and Councillors:—

### *Vice-Presidents.*

The Right Hon. the Earl of Jersey, G.C.M.G.  
 Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.  
 Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G.  
 Sir James A. Youl, K.C.M.G.  
 Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G.

### *Councillors.*

W. J. Anderson, Esq.  
 F. H. Dangar, Esq.  
 Frederick Dutton, Esq.  
 Lieut.-General Sir J. Bevan Edwards, K.C.M.G., C.B.  
 W. Maynard Farmer, Esq.  
 Major-Gen. Sir Henry Green, K.C.S.I., C.B.  
 Sir Robert G. W. Herbert, G.C.B.  
 Lieut.-General R. W. Lowry, C.B.  
 S. Vaughan Morgan, Esq.  
 George R. Parkin, Esq. M.A.

Sir Westby B. Perceval, K.C.M.G.

Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, G.C.M.G.

Sir Francis Villeneuve Smith.

Sir Charles E. F. Stirling, Bart.

Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., G.C.M.G., C.B.



## APPENDIX.

I. CELEBRATION OF THE QUEEN'S BIRTHDAY  
THROUGHOUT THE EMPIRE.

*To the QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.*

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE  
ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE

SHEWETH—

That your Petitioners are the governing body of the Royal Colonial Institute, upon which Your Majesty has been graciously pleased to confer a Royal Charter of Incorporation.

That the Institute consists of nearly four thousand members, residing in all parts of Your Majesty's Dominions, who are deeply imbued with feelings of loyalty to Your Majesty's Throne and Person, and desirous that the bonds of unity and national feeling throughout the Empire shall be more and more strengthened and rendered permanent.

That your Petitioners always keep steadfastly in view, and to the utmost of their power promote, this great national object, by diffusing information respecting all the Dominions of Your Majesty's Empire, and in every possible way by fostering among its people sentiments of common loyalty and nationality.

That your Petitioners have received a communication from their representative in one of the great self-governing Colonies, drawing their attention to the fact that, whereas other nations have annual days for universal national celebration—such as the Fourth of July in the United States—and that the Colonies have similar celebrations, such as Dominion Day in Canada, there is no such day observed throughout Your Majesty's Empire; for although Your Majesty's birthday is kept as a day of public holiday and re-

Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray that, with a view to give fuller and adequate expression to the feelings of loyalty and united nationality so deeply and generally entertained by all Your Majesty's subjects, and to draw still closer together all parts of Your Majesty's Empire by the additional bond of Imperial Unity which would thereby be created, one day in the year shall be set apart for universal national celebration throughout all your Majesty's Dominions, or at least throughout all portions of them inhabited by people of our race and language, and Your Petitioners are convinced that no day in the year would be so popular and appropriate for such a celebration as the Birthday of their most gracious Sovereign.

Given under the Common Seal of the Royal Colonial Institute,  
this twenty-fourth day of July, 1894.

FREDERICK YOUNG, *Vice President,* } *Members*  
F. P. DE LABILLIERE, *Councillor,* } *of the*  
 } *Council*

J. S. O'HALLORAN,  
*Secretary.*

REPLY.

[ 10 Downing Street, Whitehall:  
August 24, 1894.

SIR,—

Lord Rosebery has had under his consideration the Memorial of the Royal Colonial Institute praying that Her Majesty's Birthday may be kept as an annual public holiday.

In reply he desires me to say that he thinks the matter is one in which the community generally should take action, rather than the Executive Government; and I am to remind you that, so far as the Public Departments are concerned, the day in question is already kept as a holiday.

It should also be remembered that Her Majesty's Birthday

usually falls about the same time as Whit Monday, which is already a recognised Bank Holiday ; and there are obvious objections to appointing another public holiday at that season.

Your faithful servant,

GEO. H. MURRAY.

Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., Vice-President,  
Royal Colonial Institute.

## RECORDS OF COLONIAL LITERATURE.

On March 7, 1895, a circular letter was addressed, by direction of the Council, to the various Colonial Governments, inviting them to issue, through the medium of their Government Gazettes or otherwise, registers containing entries of all official publications within given periods, and also all other locally published works, with their full titles, so as to furnish complete records of the literature of each Colony. An abstract of the replies which have been received up to date is now published for general information :—

Lists of official and non-official works are already published, in accordance with special local Acts, in the Dominion of Canada, the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, Ceylon, Hong Kong, Trinidad, and Malta.

Lists of non-official works only are already published in Jamaica, the Straits Settlements, and Cyprus. These Colonies consent to embody all official publications in future.

The Governments of the following Colonies undertake to comply with the terms of the circular letter : Newfoundland, Barbados, the Windward Islands, Bahamas, Falkland Islands, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast Colony.

The following Colonies have no Copyright Act, and issue no particulars of publications : Western Australia, Natal, and Bermuda.

## LIST OF FELLOWS.

The list of Fellows is not included in this volume, but has been printed separately, and can be obtained by any Fellow on application. The number of Fellows on July 16, 1895, was as follows :

Resident	1,324
Non-Resident	2,445
Total	<u>3,769</u>

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OF THE "PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL COLONIAL  
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 „ Brown's Free Library, Liverpool.  
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 „ Colonial College, Hollesley Bay, Suffolk.  
 „ Colonial Office, London.  
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 „ „ St. Margaret and St. John, West-  
 „ „ St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. [minster.  
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 „ „ House of Lords, London.  
 „ „ Imperial Institute, London.  
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 „ „ Intelligence Department, War Office  
 „ „ Liverpool Geographical Society.  
 „ „ London Chamber of Commerce.



**The London Institution."**

- „ London Library.
- „ Manchester Geographical Society.
- „ Minet Public Library, Camberwell.
- „ Mitchell Library, Glasgow.
- „ National Club, London.
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- „ Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Co., London.
- „ People's Palace Library, London.
- „ Reform Club, London.
- „ Royal Asiatic Society, London.
- „ Royal Engineer Institute, Chatham.
- „ Royal Gardens, Kew.
- „ Royal Geographical Society, London.
- „ Royal Institution of Great Britain, London.
- „ Royal Scottish Geographical Society, Edinburgh.
- „ Royal Society of Literature, London.
- „ Royal Statistical Society, London.
- „ Royal United Service Institution, London.
- „ Science and Education Library, South Kensington.
- „ Society of Arts, London.
- „ Stirling and Glasgow Public Library.
- „ Tate Public Library, Streatham.
- „ Trinity College, Dublin.
- „ Union Steam Ship Co., London.
- „ Victoria Institute, London.

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**BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.**

**The Houses of Parliament, Ottawa.**

- „ Legislative Assembly, Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- „ Legislative Assembly of British Columbia.
- „ „ „ New Brunswick.
- „ „ „ Newfoundland.
- „ „ „ Ontario.
- „ „ „ Prince Edward Island.
- „ „ „ Quebec.
- „ Bureau of Statistics, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
- „ Canadian Institute, Toronto.
- „ Council of Arts and Manufactures, Montreal.
- „ Fraser Institute, Montreal.
- „ Geographical Society, Quebec.
- „ Geological Survey of Canada.
- „ Hamilton Association.
- „ Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Winnipeg.
- „ King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia.
- „ Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.
- „ Literary and Scientific Society, Ottawa.
- „ MacLeod Historical Society, Alberta, N.W.T.
- „ McGill University, Montreal.
- „ Nova Scotia Historical Society.
- „ Nova Scotian Institute of Natural Science.
- „ Public Library, Toronto.
- „ Public Library, Victoria, British Columbia.
- „ Queen's University, Kingston.
- „ University Library, Winnipeg.
- „ University of Toronto.

## AUSTRALASIAN COLONIES.

## NEW SOUTH WALES.

- The Australian Museum, Sydney.  
 „ Department of Mines, Geological Survey.  
 „ Engineering Association of New South Wales.  
 „ Free Public Library, Bathurst.  
 „ „ Newcastle.  
 „ „ Sydney.  
 „ Houses of Parliament, Sydney.  
 „ Mechanics' Institute, Albury.  
 „ Royal Geographical Society of Australasia.  
 „ Royal Society of New South Wales.  
 „ School of Art, Grafton.  
 „ „ Maitland West.  
 „ „ Wollongong.  
 „ United Service Institution, Sydney.

## QUEENSLAND.

- The Houses of Parliament, Brisbane.  
 „ Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (Queensland  
 „ Royal Society of Queensland. [Branch].  
 „ School of Art, Bowen, Port Denison.  
 „ „ Brisbane.  
 „ „ Ipswich.  
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## SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

- The Houses of Parliament, Adelaide.  
 „ Public Library, Adelaide.  
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## TASMANIA.

- The Houses of Parliament, Hobart.  
 „ Mechanics' Institute, Launceston.  
 „ Public Library, Hobart.  
 „ „ Launceston.  
 „ Royal Society of Tasmania.  
 „ Statistical Department, Hobart.

## VICTORIA.

- The Houses of Parliament, Melbourne.  
 „ Athenæum and Burke Museum, Beechworth.  
 „ Mechanics' Institute and Athenæum, Melbourne.  
 „ Mechanics' Institute, Sale.  
 „ „ Sandhurst.  
 „ „ Stawell.  
 „ Melbourne University.  
 „ Public Library, Ballarat.  
 „ „ Castlemaine.  
 „ „ Geelong.  
 „ „ Melbourne.  
 „ Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (Victorian Branch).  
 „ Royal Society of Victoria.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

The Houses of Parliament, Perth.  
,, Victoria Public Library, Perth.

NEW ZEALAND.

The Houses of Parliament, Wellington.  
,, Auckland Institute.  
,, Canterbury College, Christchurch.  
,, New Zealand Institute, Wellington.  
,, Public Library, Auckland.  
,, " Dunedin.  
,, " Wellington.

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CAPE COLONY.

The Houses of Parliament, Cape Town.  
,, Chamber of Commerce, Cape Town.  
,, " " Port Elizabeth.  
,, Public Library, Cape Town.  
,, " " Grahamstown.  
,, " " Kimberley, Griqualand West.  
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NATAL.

The Houses of Parliament, Pietermaritzburg.  
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WEST INDIES.

The Free Public Library, Antigua.  
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,, Jamaica Institute.  
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MAURITIUS.

The Public Library, Port Louis.

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AUSTRIA.

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The Imperial German Government.  
Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft.

## HOLLAND.

Colonial Museum, Haarlem.  
Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde  
van Nederlandsch-Indië.

## ITALY.

Società Africana d' Italia.

## JAVA.

La Société des Arts et des Sciences, Batavia.

## UNITED STATES.

American Geographical Society, New York.  
The Department of State, Washington.  
„ Smithsonian Institution „



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